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FRANKLIN
A
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY



'The grand leap of the whale in the chase up the Falls of Niagara, is esteemed,
by all who have seen it, as one of the finest spectacles in nature.'

Franklin

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S *Life and Writings*



Bibliographical Essay

On the STEVENS' COLLECTION of

Books and Manuscripts

RELATING TO DOCTOR FRANKLIN

By HENRY STEVENS

of Vermont FSA Etc



Eripuit coelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis

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'If men are so wicked *with* religion, what would they be *without* it.'
Franklin, Priv Cor 4^o 1818, p 133

48.

'He that spits against the wind, spits in his own face.' *Franklin.*

NO WILL
AMORILLO

TO

JUNIUS SPENCER MORGAN ESQ

THIS MONOGRAPH IS CORDIALLY

INSCRIBED

BY

The Author



227983

‘Enfin Thalès [Franklin] parut à ces jeux & y jouit de toute sa gloire. Tous les yeux étoient tournés sur lui. On le nommoit le Libérateur & le Législateur de l’Asie. Le Code qu’il avoit tracé pour la nouvelle République s’y voyoit à côté de ses immortels Écrits. Sa Statue fut apportée en triomphe aux acclamations de tout le Peuple. Elle fut couronnée d’un rameau d’olivier, symbole de la Paix, & d’une branche de laurier, symbole du Génie. Il étoit représenté tenant d’une main le flambeau de Prométhée & de l’autre l’étendart sacré de la Liberté: & au pied de sa Statue se lissoit un vers célèbre de Sophocle, dont le sens étoit:

‘IL ARRACHA D’UNE MAIN HARDIE, AU CIEL
SA FOUDRE ET LE SCEPTRE AUX TYRANS.’

Fragment de Xénophon, Paris, 1783, p. 52



EXPLANATORY

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN abroad and GEORGE WASHINGTON at home, the one with his philosophy and diplomacy, the other with his generalship and victories, are the two equally great and unequalled champions of American History. Neither of them can be spared from the record of the foundation of the great Republic any more than they can be compared in their diverse merits and achievements. The story of the latter is fresh and almost perfect; while that of the former is as yet freckled, and tarnished with error.

The aim and object of this brief bibliographical essay is to disentangle the old, and present to view some of the new, hitherto unused materials for the history of the life and remarkable career of Franklin. In doing this a vindication of the British government and Franklin's

grandson from the oft repeated charge of conspiring to destroy or suppress the old philosopher's papers follows as a matter of course.

This paper was drawn up for the special purpose of announcing the sale of my Franklin Collection, and is only half the story, the remaining and more private information being reserved for the purchaser, or for future personal use. Sufficient however has been told, it is believed, to awaken new interest in the untold biography of Franklin, and to show that the important history of American Diplomacy is yet to be written.

HENRY STEVENS of Vermont

iv, Trafalgar Square, London,

June 1881.





BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

A Bibliographical Essay



DURING THIRTY YEARS MR HENRY STEVENS HAS LOST NO opportunity of adding to his collection of materials for the

LIFE, TIMES AND WORKS OF FRANKLIN.

Sooner or later everything saleable is believed to turn up in London, the centre of money and mutability. Here it is said most do congregate historical materials and historic doubts. At all events the present collection is a sample of what one may achieve in a single generation in London by good luck, persistence, vigilance and a dogged weakness for sacrificing other worldly gains to a pet object. Rightly or wrongly this has been done and the results are here for the first time summarized and set forth.

Has the enthusiastic collector 'paid too dear for his whistle'? In bringing it together he has exhausted his three score, and locked up his 'staff of life.' Whether foolish or wise let another generation pronounce the verdict. The intrinsic value must be tested and measured, like everything else, by posterity's judgment of the extent and real historic importance of the collection. There is probably no man in all history playing a prominent part, who has been more unfortunate in his record than BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. He was as careless as Shakspeare of his literary and scientific reputation. He was too busy in making history ever to overtake himself and find time to sit down quietly to record it. His pen was always on the wing, but his chickens never came home to roost. When once on the road to fame, he never more had a home of his own, but always lived for the public, the prey of interested friends, greedy editors, hungry publishers, enterprising booksellers and such like human parasites.

Of all his many books published during his lifetime, Franklin never revised a proof sheet or saw one of them through the press himself. He invented, but secured no patent : he wrote but took no copyright. Yet notwithstanding he was

proud of his achievements in science, in literature, in politics and in diplomacy ; and he ever petted his parasites. But with all this liberality and apparent carelessness he was parsimonious of his papers though unmethodical in their preservation. He took copies of everything, and trusted loyally to posterity to see him correctly posted into the archives of two hemispheres. But posterity though honest is sometimes dilatory and unfortunate. It is well known that Franklin's 'Papers,' by his will, became the patrimony of his grandson. It has many times been asserted, and sometimes believed, that that grandson, with some dishonorable motive or purpose, made away with, destroyed, or mutilated the better part of them. These charges still flourish and have been reiterated over and over again, with increasing gusto, for the last eighty years, until they begin to dwarf the real and true history of Franklin and his Times. The Papers, however, still exist, and Truth, as ever, will prevail.

To help kill once more these groundless charges, the writer with his Franklin Collection on his shoulders rises to explain. Franklin died ninety years ago. He lived eighty-five years, and left to the world his Autobiography down to his fifty-first year, a masterpiece which makes every one regret that he broke off in the very middle of his manhood. What do we know ? What can we learn of the last thirty-three years of that eventful life, from 1757 to 1790 ? Nearly twenty years of that time were passed in England as agent of Pennsylvania and other Colonies, staving off or shaping the inevitable crisis of American Independence. Nine years he passed in France as Minister Plenipotentiary of the Congress during the Revolutionary War for establishing that same American Independency. In all these years, in which a new Nation was born and came of Age, Franklin more than any other one man living might have exclaimed with truth 'quorum pars magna fui,' but he never did. He left that egotistical classic expression to his coming and going associates, whose envy, malice and all uncharitableness were apparent to his keen eye, and rather amused than offended him. Nothing of this is reached in his Autobiography, but it is found in his unpublished letters with names and dates in full. Many a self-asserting artist has tried to fill out and complete Phidias's matchless, footless and handless figure of Theseus in the British Museum, but no one has yet succeeded. In like manner many an ambitious author has vainly endeavoured to piece out Franklin's Autobiography. The last state of that patch-work is even worse than the first, as one might expect, from the simple reason that the real materials of a Life of Franklin from the end of his Autobiography to the end of his career have been and are still inaccessible. What is more, no writer has for the last sixty years supposed or even suspected that the unpublished papers of Franklin are still in existence. Yet with the exception perhaps of the revised and polished Autobiography, they are fully equal in bulk and importance to what has already been printed. Hence as yet no biography of Franklin : and hence as yet no full and comprehensive history of the foundation and structure of the American Republic. But when this corresponding European portion is added, American History, thanks to Franklin and to France, will assume its due proportions.

This is not all. An important part of the history of the British American Colonies from a little before the acquisition of Canada to the Declaration of Independence : and of the United States from the beginning of the Revolution to the

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

final ratification and adoption of the Federal Constitution, is mixed up and locked up in Franklin's unpublished papers. While the Colonial legislative Assemblies, and afterwards, the Continental Congress, were working out their great problems and achieving national independence beyond the Atlantic, Franklin, on this side, almost alone, was carrying on the counterpart of the great work, first in England, and afterwards in France. Congress sat with closed doors and left but meagre records, few of its Members being given to pen-work. Franklin on the contrary, sat and deliberated with pen in hand. But for the last sixty, nay ninety years, the main portion of his papers have by the hand of fortune or misfortune become 'things lost upon earth.' Hence American History pines for want of authentic materials. Peter Force, one of America's noblemen, undertook to remedy this misfortune by the publication of his American Archives, but when the Congress, through innate narrowness of party, had endeavoured to break the government contract with him, and had abandoned the effort in 1840, a single Secretary of State sat upon the enterprising historian, and, most unfortunately for American history, extinguished him and his great national work. Still Franklin, though he has been shunted into the cool shade of the Second Century of the Republic which he helped to found, survives, and the existence of his Papers is here formally announced and recorded.

From the time Franklin returned home from France in 1785, to the day of his death, the 17 April, 1790, much of his leisure from public business was occupied in selecting and arranging his papers. It was well known that before going to France in 1776, he deposited his literary and scientific treasures, up to that time, with his friend Mr Galloway. Mr Galloway joining the enemy not long after, the trunk containing the papers was broken open and the contents, scattered about the room in his empty house near Philadelphia, trodden upon, injured and probably partially destroyed. Much more, however, of these Papers was saved or recovered than is generally supposed. The Twyford portion of the Autobiography to 1731 fell into the hands of honest Abel James, who wrote the Doctor at Passy in 1782 urging its continuation. The 2d part was added in 1784, and the 3d to 1757 in 1788. Some of the Craven Street Letter Books, with other and earlier papers, were also recovered, though many had been wet and injured. Some of them with dates as far back as 1728 are still visible witnesses of their rough treatment, neglect and narrow escapes. In his will Franklin, after disposing of a good part of his library, adds "The residue and remainder of all my books, manuscripts and papers, I do give to my grandson, William Temple Franklin." The Papers thus became the absolute property of his grandson, without qualification, direction or instructions as to disposition or publication. In the course of the year 1790 young Franklin came to London with the view of editing the Life and Works of his grandfather, and in some way realizing the value of the copyright by publication in English and other languages. He promptly announced his intention of immediately printing the Autobiography and other works in English. He had already written from Phil. 22 May, to M. le Veillard at Passy, announcing that his grandfather had left all his papers and manuscripts to him, and requesting him not to show any one that part of his Life which the Dr sent him some time before lest it might be copied and published. As he had the *original* of the portion

sent to M. le Veillard, it would not be necessary for him to return it then, but requested M. le V. to put it in an envelope, securely sealed and addressed to himself.

This is clearly a sufficient proof that the Manuscript in Monsieur le Veillard's hands was considered the property of Temple Franklin. In like manner it may be presumed he reclaimed and got possession of the other revised copy sent at the same time to the doctor's friends in London. M. de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt declared publicly that the doctor had sent his memoirs to M. le Veillard and himself, at the same time sending a duplicate of the revision to Dr Price and Mr Benjamin Vaughan of London. These facts are stated in the Eulogium which M. de Rochefoucauld delivered before the '89 Society' of Paris the 13 June, 1790, adding, "His Memoirs, Gentlemen, will be published as soon as we receive from America the additions he may have made to the manuscript in our possession; and we then intend to give a complete collection of his works." This assertion probably explains how the first portion of the Autobiography got into the hands of Buisson, the publisher, before the arrival of Temple Franklin's letter to M. le Veillard. Buisson's edition of the 'Mémoirs' (114) came out in the beginning of 1791. On the 21st of March following M. le Veillard published a protest against this publication and declared that he did not know how the translator became possessed of the Autobiography, and declared that it was not furnished by him. This announcement was necessary to vindicate himself in his trust to Temple Franklin. Prior to this an anonymous writer in London had issued as 'Printed and sold for the Author by A. Grant,' and others, *Memoirs of the late Dr. Franklin* (112) London, 1790.

The doctor's old publishers, Henry (69) and Newberry (77) and Johnson (87, 88), and Dilly (108), were still in the market. Temple Franklin, seeing how matters stood, naturally felt aggrieved, and complained that the publishers were snatching the market from him, the rightful owner, and he became very properly exceedingly close and careful of his manuscripts. Two projects were in hand as early as the beginning of 1791 for reproducing by translation Buisson's volume, but in consequence of Temple Franklin's announcements they were both kept back nearly two years, and did not appear till the summer of 1793, one in one volume published by Parsons (121), and the other in two volumes published by Robinson (119 and 122). They are very different translations, but are both from the French of Buisson's pirated edition, itself a translation from Dr Franklin's English. Dr Price and Benjamin Vaughan were the editors of Robinson's edition. Price had died in 1791, but a letter of his is appended to the preface, in which he says that he had seen the Manuscript Autobiography to 1757, though the portion given in the French edition to 1731 is all that is published. The continuation had probably been reclaimed from Mr Vaughan.

The plan of Price and Vaughan's work was changed during its suspension. The 'Essays, humorous, moral and literary,' were originally printed as volume I, and the Autobiography, with Dr Stuber's continuation as vol. II, but reversed by the letterings. The edition however is far superior to Parsons'. There were three editions of it issued by Robinson in a short time, and it was soon after reprinted in Dublin (120), Dundee (129), Edinburgh (139), New York (124 and 125),

Salem (128) and many other places, while Parsons' edition was, we believe, never honored by a reprint, though it contains some things from the French that had not appeared when Buisson's work came out. It is still worth consulting. In the Advertisement is the following confession : "The Translator would have presented the world with this volume long since, had he not been restrained by a certain degree of delicacy, mingled with veneration, towards the family of this great man; for on being informed by a respectable bookseller in St Paul's Church-yard [Johnson? Franklin's prior publisher] that the works of Franklin were about to be published by his grandson, he withheld the present publication for several months, in expectation of that event."

All these various books of Dr Franklin by so many enterprising publishers become 'trade editions,' and thus the interest of the trade was against Temple Franklin and his proposed larger work. He not only found difficulty in procuring a publisher not interested in any of these rival works, but his expressed annoyance and disappointment were answered by gossiping innuendos and flings on account of his delay in fulfilling his announcements and gratifying the hungry public with an opportunity of reading the real Autobiography and the Doctor's other genuine and revised works. Meanwhile the trade was reaping good harvests in the small and nimble editions, as abundantly appears by the list of printed Frankliniana given further on (No. 1-204). This gossip at length took shape and culminated in positive charges of dishonorable conduct on the part of Temple Franklin, as given in the preface of Johnson's trade edition in 3 volumes, 1806. Johnson had been a publisher of Franklin's works for some thirty years, including Benjamin Vaughan's 4° and 8° editions of 1779, admitted to be with the approval of the Author, though the Doctor derived no profit from the publications. This edition is sometimes called Longman's, but it has been ascertained that the house of Longman had nothing to do with it beyond taking a 'trade share' in its publication. The work was fairly edited by Mr Marshall assisted by Benjamin Vaughan, who about that time removed to America. In the preface to volume one is found the following trade-protection cry in behalf of the generous public, containing in outspoken language the charges against Temple Franklin. We give it entire to show its true spirit.

"The character of Dr. Franklin, as a philosopher, a politician, and a moralist, is too well known to require illustration, and his writings, from their interesting nature, and the fascinating simplicity of their style, are too highly esteemed, for any apology to be necessary for so large a collection of them, unless it should be deemed necessary by the individual to whom Dr. Franklin in his will consigned his manuscripts: and to him our apology will consist in a reference to his own extraordinary conduct. In bequeathing his papers, it was no doubt the intention of the testator, that the world should have the chance of being benefited by their publication. It was so understood by the person in question, his grandson, who accordingly shortly after the death of his great relative, hastened to London, the best mart for literary property, employed an amanuensis for many months in copying, ransacked our public libraries that nothing might escape, and at length had so far prepared the works of Dr. Franklin for the press, that proposals were made by him to several of our principal booksellers for the sale of them. They were to form three quarto volumes, and were to contain all the writings, published and unpublished, of Franklin, with Memoirs of his Life, brought down by himself to the year 1757, and continued to his death by the legatee. They were to be published in three different languages, and the countries corresponding to those languages, France,

Germany and England, on the same day. The terms asked for the copyright of the English edition were high, amounting to several thousand pounds, which occasioned a little demur ; but eventually they would no doubt have been obtained. Nothing more, however, was heard of the proposals or the work, in this its fair market. The proprietor, it seems, had found a bidder of a different description in some emissary of government, whose object was to withhold the manuscripts from the world, not to benefit it by their publication ; and they thus either passed into other hands, or the person to whom they were bequeathed received a remuneration for suppressing them. This at least has been asserted, by a variety of persons, both in this country and America, of whom some were at the time intimate with the grandson, and not wholly unacquainted with the machinations of the ministry ; and the silence, which has been observed for so many years respecting the publication, gives additional credibility to the report. What the manuscripts contained, that should have excited the jealousy of government, we are unable, as we have never seen them, positively to affirm ; but, from the conspicuous part acted by the author in the American revolution, and the wars connected with it, it is by no means difficult to guess ; and of this we are sure, from his character, that no disposition of his writings could have been more contrary to his intentions or wishes. We have only to add, that in the present collection, which is probably all that will ever be published of the works of this extraordinary man, the papers are methodically arranged," etc. Dated April 7, 1806.

This farrago of suspicion, groundless charges, and boundless assumption would not have been quoted here but for its having been generally credited at the time, and quoted as 'good history' even down to the present day. In the *Edinburgh Review* of July 1806, this edition was fully noticed and the charges sifted. The reader is referred to that able article. Mr Bigelow has fortunately turned up some curious circumstances in this connection, by which it appears that in 1807 there was published in Paris *The Argus or London Review*, which periodical, on the 28th of March, reiterated these charges, on the responsibility of an article taken from the *American Citizen*, of New York, under date of 6 Sept. 1806, the substance of which, as given by Mr Bigelow, was "William Temple Franklin, without shame, without remorse, mean and mercenary, sold the sacred deposit, committed to his care by Dr. Franklin, to the British government. Franklin's works are therefore lost to the world." On seeing this column of the *Argus*, Mr Temple Franklin, who was then in Paris, the same day addressed a letter to the editor of the *Argus*, warmly and indignantly answering and disproving, to the satisfaction of the editor, every one of the 'falsehoods.' Three days later the *Argus* inserted Franklin's letter, with "We publish this letter with the greater pleasure as it contains a full and satisfactory answer to the calumnies circulated on his conduct," etc. ; but it does not apparently satisfy Mr Bigelow who closes his summary of the matter (page 66, ed. 1879, vol. I) with these words : "Whatever impression this letter may have upon the mind of the reader of to-day, it is certain that it did not shake the general conviction of William Temple's contemporaries that he had yielded to influences anything but friendly to the memory of his grandfather or honorable to himself." Temple Franklin again referred to these foul aspersions on his conduct and character in the preface of his edition of the Life and Works of Franklin in 1818, but as he did not do it in the precise words, warmth and style of his Paris letter, the explanation of his delay in bringing out the work has been severely cavil'd at. The papers themselves exist in this collection, and they bear no thumb or finger marks of the British government. The

condition and history of them abundantly prove the falsity of the charges both against Temple Franklin and the British government.

It is not to be denied that Temple Franklin's editions of the Life and Works of Dr Franklin in 1818 did not satisfy the craving public. More was expected. Very few of Dr Franklin's political writings during the nine years of diplomacy in Paris were published, and no one ever knew why, but many again jumped to the conclusion that they had been suppressed. Mr Bigelow again revives the discussion by bringing Jefferson himself on to the stand. He says, vol. II, page 253 : "Unhappily, there is too good reason to believe that Wm. Temple Franklin took the same liberties with this precious document that he appears to have allowed himself to take with the Autobiography. My authority for these suspicions may be found in the following paragraph with which Thomas Jefferson closes his Autobiography :

"I left Monticello on the first of March, 1790, for New York. At Philadelphia I called on the venerable and beloved Franklyn. He was then on the bed of sickness from which he never rose. My recent return from a country in which he had left so many friends, and the perilous convulsions to which they had been exposed, revived all his anxieties to know what part they had taken, what had been their course, and what their fate. He went over all in succession, with a rapidity and animation almost too much for his strength. When all his inquiries were satisfied, and a pause took place, I told him I had learned with much pleasure that, since his return to America, he had been occupied in preparing for the world the history of his own life.' 'I cannot say much for that,' said he, 'but I will give you a sample of what I shall leave ;' and he directed his little grandson (William Bache), who was standing by the bedside, to hand him a paper from the table to which he pointed. He did so ; and the Doctor, putting it into my hands, desired me to take it and read it at my leisure. It was about a quire of folio paper, written in a large and running hand, very much like his own. I looked into it slightly, then shut it, and said I would accept his permission to read it, and would carefully return it. He said, 'No, keep it.' Not certain of his meaning, I again looked into it, folded it for my pocket, and said again, I would certainly return it. 'No,' said he, 'keep it.' I put it into my pocket, and shortly after took leave of him. He died on the 17th of the ensuing month of April ; and as I understood that he had bequeathed all his papers to his grandson, William Temple Franklyn, I immediately wrote to Mr. Franklyn, to inform him I possessed this paper, which I should consider as his property, and would deliver it to his order. He came on immediately to New York, called on me for it, and I delivered it to him. As he put it into his pocket, he said carelessly, he had either the original or another copy of it, I don't recollect which. This last expression struck my attention forcibly, and for the first time suggested to me the thought that Dr. Franklyn had meant it as a confidential deposit in my hands, and that I had done wrong in parting from it. I have not yet seen the collection he published of Dr. Franklyn's works, and, therefore, know not if this is among them. I have been told it is not. It contained a narrative of the negotiations between Dr. Franklyn and the British Ministry, when he was endeavouring to prevent the contest of arms that followed. The negotiation was brought about by the intervention of Lord Howe and his sister, who, I believe, was called Lady Howe ; but I may misremember her title. Lord Howe seems to have been friendly to America, and exceedingly anxious to prevent a rupture. His intimacy with Dr. Franklyn, and his position with the ministry, induced him to undertake mediation between them ; in which his sister seemed to have been associated. They carried from one to the other, backwards and forwards, the several propositions, and answers, which passed, and seconded with their own intercessions the importance of mutual sacrifices, to preserve the peace and connection of the two countries. I remember that

Lord North's answers were dry, unyielding in the spirit of unconditional submission, and betrayed an absolute indifference to the occurrence of a rupture, and he said to the mediators distinctly at last, that 'a rebellion was not to be deprecated on the part of Great Britain ; that the confiscations it would produce would provide for many of their friends.' This expression was reported by the mediators to Dr. Franklyn, and indicated so cool and calculated a purpose in the ministry as to render compromise hopeless, and the negotiation was discontinued. If this is not among the papers published, we ask, what has become of it ? I delivered it with my own hands into those of Temple Franklyn. It certainly established views so atrocious in the British government that its suppression would, to them, be worth a great price. But could the grandson of Dr. Franklyn be, in such degree, an accomplice in the parricide of the memory of his immortal grandfather ? The suspension for more than twenty years of the general publication, bequeathed and confided to him, produced for a while hard suspicions against him ; and if, at last, all are not published, a part of these suspicions may remain with some.—Ed."

Before commenting on this Jeffersonian diatribe, it may be well to refer to the *Edinburgh Review's* opinion on these wild statements of the quondam friend of Franklin and ex-President of the United States. In the Number for July, 1830, in a long review of Thomas Jefferson Randolph's edition of the *Memoirs, Correspondence and Private Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 4 vols. London 1829, 8°, on page 503, the reviewer says :

"Jefferson had a fatal readiness of believing anything against an English minister or a Federalist. In the case of Mr Temple Franklin, he makes insinuations, and in that of Chief Justice Marshall, direct charges of a suppression of the truth, which would be no less inconsistent with honesty and history, than the most active invention of immediate untruths. The insinuations against Franklin's grandson is that he had sold to the English government a portion of Dr Franklin's memoirs, which would have established against them views so atrocious that 'its suppression would be worth to them a great price.' We do not wonder that the public curiosity, when defeated by a delay in the general publication which it could not understand, revenged itself in gossiping, especially if the reputation of the executor was not absolutely beyond the reach of such discreditable surmises. But in fact the paper referred to forms a prominent part of the Memoirs, as at last published by the grandson. The reader may indeed look in vain for the declaration stated to have been made by Lord North—that 'a rebellion was not to be deprecated on the part of Great Britain ; that the confiscations it would produce, would provide for many of their friends.' This, we believe, will be the case simply because it is our firm opinion that Jefferson's passions have in this instance confused his recollections, and that no such declaration was ever made or stated. Any such statement is utterly inconsistent with Lord North's disposition ; it is in contradiction to the general character of the messages as reported ; and had any such wicked feeling escaped from the minister, we cannot believe that Lord Howe and his sister, whilst acting the part of generous mediators, would have been guilty of the gratuitous mischief of repeating it. Many things are printed in Franklin's posthumous collections which, if the English government had begun to buy, common prudence would have included in the purchase."

To this we need only add our opinion that it is useless to attempt to fathom, or troll for, Jefferson's motives in writing such contradictory and transparent misconception about so serious a matter. What he wrote in his journal is based on more than thirty years recollection. He tells a round story and quotes only three or four lines, and even these from memory. He had never seen Temple Franklyn's edition, but had only heard that it did not contain his phantom. We would gladly let him off on the score of bad memory, were it not for his slow-

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scented followers who warp the truth by the very weight of reiteration. There can be no question about what the paper was. It was "An Account of the Negotiations in London for effecting a Reconciliation between Great Britain and the American Colonies," and was written by Franklin on board the Packet bound to Philadelphia in March, 1775. It fills about 80 pages of an ordinary printed octavo volume, equal in extent to more than one-third of the Autobiography, of which it should form a part. The original paper, in the autograph of Franklin, forms a part of the present Collection. It was fairly edited and printed by W. Temple Franklin, and now exists as a voucher against all comers. Its importance cannot well be over-estimated. The paper speaks for itself, and gives an honest verdict against the treacherous memory of Ex-President Jefferson. Jefferson must also have been mistaken about Temple Franklin's remark when he received the paper, as well as to the doctor's wish to have him retain it as a 'confidential deposit.' The fact appears to be that the Narrative was drawn up at sea, without the many original notes, letters and memoranda referred to in it. Blank spaces were left in the foolscap paper with memoranda 'here insert it.' Temple Franklin therefore had all the original 'insertions,' while Mr Jefferson had the Paper. The narrative reads well without these vouchers, but infinitely clearer with them. It was natural therefore that young Franklin should be anxious to recover the original narrative and put it safely in his pocket in order that the document might be complete. This paper with the original insertions is one of the gems of our Collection.

Let us make one more quotation, cut damp from a morning Newspaper, the *Daily News* of the 18th March, 1881. It is the last telling of the story of the suppressed Papers, and was probably intended as mere literary gossip :—

"There is rather a curious history attaching to the Franklin manuscripts which were offered to the American Congress the other day for the sum of 25,000 dollars [this is an error for 35,000]. The manuscripts were originally left to Benjamin Franklin's grandson, William Temple Franklin, and contain the secret history of the war, private negotiations, and many political anecdotes of the time, which would now of course be of great value, but which at the period of Franklin's death it was considered unwise to make public. The manuscripts were taken to England by William Temple Franklin, who, however, suppressed most of them, in consideration, it is said, of a sum paid to him by the British Government, and only published a portion of that part which consisted of the autobiography of his grandfather, and even this he greatly mutilated before making it public. The documents now offered to Congress are said to be the whole of the suppressed manuscripts which belonged to William Temple Franklin. If they have been preserved in their entirety, they are of course most valuable pieces of history, and should undoubtedly be in possession of the American Government. But there is some doubt as to whether they really are in perfect condition. The man who did not hesitate to mutilate the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin would scarcely be inclined to regard the remaining manuscripts with any great reverence, and it is quite possible that he may have taken liberties with them which greatly deteriorate, if they do not destroy, their historical value."

From what is said above and below, it is not needful here to say more than that the writer is misinformed as to 'the man who did not hesitate to mutilate the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin.' Franklin wrote the first part of his autobiography in 1771, bringing the narrative down to a little beyond his marriage in 1730. In 1784 at Passy, and in 1788 at Phil. he continued it down

to 1757. He was urged by many friends after his return home in 1785 to go on and finish it to 1790. But he was ill, and crowded with work too much for his old age. He promised and promised, but failed to accomplish. He however revised, altered and amended what was already written and sent copies to Paris and to London, retaining the original draft, a good deal corrected. The 'mutilations' therefore were Dr Franklin's own revisions and amendments. He was anxious to improve it, and even asked his friend Benjamin Vaughan to look it over and suggest corrections, for he said, in his old age he had not confidence in his own judgment.

Temple Franklin in 1790 brought the original draft MS. of the Autobiography to London and soon after exchanged it for the revised copy, both belonging to himself, deposited with M. le Veillard. He unquestionably did right in printing from Franklin's own corrected copy instead of the autographic original draft. That his old friend might possess a substantial memorial of Franklin the grandson left the original draft with the Veillard family. The writer saw it in 1852 at Amiens in the possession of M. de Senarmont, a relative by marriage of M. le Veillard, who had been beheaded in 1794. He spent two days with that amiable gentleman and his family, and was permitted to collate the autograph draft with Temple Franklin's printed text of the autobiography. The manuscript was then the undivided property of three persons. They were all there, but on consultation were not willing to sell it unless they could obtain a sum worth dividing. A small price therefore was no temptation. They did not then care to dispose of the other autograph papers or the portrait by Duplessis. The writer left a standing offer of £200 for it, they wanting £600. As it was not an unpublished paper, the purchase was not completed, though considerable friendly correspondence followed. It is an important relic of the great American Statesman and Philosopher, but it would manifestly have been wrong under all the circumstances for Temple Franklin to print the original draft (though somewhat corrected) instead of the copy revised and corrected by the author. Franklin himself may have erred in judgment sometimes and chosen a secondary word, but in almost every instance the last construction of the sentence and the word substituted rest on good foundations. Temple Franklin therefore may be discharged as not guilty.

At all events it is now abundantly evident that the British Government never tampered with Mr Temple Franklin, that Temple Franklin never squeezed £7000, as was said, or any other sum, out of John Bull, for suppressing the manuscripts of Dr Franklin, or that he ever sold, lost or destroyed these historical papers, which now appear in this our collection, safe and well cared for, to speak for themselves, to the honour of Temple Franklin, and the glory of America and her favourite son. The truth is now manifest, that the British Government in 1793, or 1800 or 1806, or later, had nothing to fear from the disclosure of private matters or public interests by the publication of anything more from the pen of Dr Franklin, her old colonial sage, who had been in his grave since 1790. The whole mystery is now revealed and explained. William Temple Franklin was a slow coach, honest, earnest, proud of his charge, opinionated, laborious and fussy; but at the same time he was an unmethodical muddler, an incompetent editor, and uncommonly dilatory in his habits. He had been an industrious and trusted assistant under his grandfather, but for

himself he was not born to finish anything. Mr Colburn, his publisher, was for years finding this out, but when at last he saw how matters stood he delicately prevailed upon the thin-skinned editor to employ a *clerk* to aid him in the fag of his editorial work. Young Franklin consented and Mr Colburn provided him with an assistant, who was ostensibly to be a mere clerk, but who was in reality a competent editor.

Under this arrangement matters advanced more regularly and rapidly, so that by the year 1818, when the work had been in hand more than a quarter of a century two editions were issued, the one in 6 volumes in octavo, and the other, with same contents, in 3 volumes in quarto. The materials were so abundant, and Franklin was so conservative against cutting down or leaving out anything, that Mr Colburn and the clerk had to employ all their dexterity to omit judiciously and abridge with discretion, at the same time making the editor believe that Hercules was performing his own labours. But a still greater difficulty arose. Temple Franklin, having little experience of editorial work, and having for many years been the confidential assistant and private secretary of his grandfather, felt that as the manuscripts had been left to him, and he himself had been *magna pars* in all his grandfather's public and private affairs, he had a right to alter, cut about, re-arrange, enlarge or abridge the papers as he thought needful for publication. But he did this with no dishonest purpose.

Some curious and many strange instances of this literary gerrymandering appear still in the original manuscripts; and many more will be developed by comparing the original MSS with the printed copy, the alterations being made with scissors or pins, but without destroying anything. Though the original manuscripts were cut about and pasted into long slips for the printer, they have been carefully and with great expense soaked apart and rearranged in their proper places, little the worse for their adventures. From the outset Mr Colburn was unwilling to venture beyond an octavo edition of six volumes. This led to much discussion until Temple Franklin consented to consider these six volumes as a first instalment or half of the work, the other half to be put to the press if the success of the sale warranted. It was thus that the first half of Temple Franklin's important edition of Dr Franklin's Life and Works first saw the light, not from any impediment on the part of the British Government. The delay arose simply out of the inexperience, incompetence and procrastination of the editor and proprietor, in addition to the difficulties he had to encounter in those momentous war times to find a disinterested publisher who could afford to undertake so large a work in the face of the innumerable minor editions already before the public. The second half never appeared, and outsiders never knew how imperfect the work was, or what was left behind for posterity to develop.

Mr William Temple Franklin died in Paris in 1823, and the same year the Papers, edited and inedited, became buried in complete obscurity. To all subsequent writers from Sparks to Bigelow, they have still been lost. Temple Franklin's authoritative edition has always been considered the standard as far as it went, but no one has ever accounted for its meagreness and shortcomings except by accusing the editor of dishonourable connivance with the British Government in suppressing the cream of the papers. No doubt it was the editor's intention had he lived to bring out the rest of the previously printed

miscellaneous and scientific works, together with the better and later half of the correspondence and diplomatic achievements of that nine years in France, the crowning glory of his grandfather's career, which added the key-stone to the fabric of the Western Republic. Temple Franklin's experience with the 'trade' of London since 1790 had cautioned him not to show his hand, or permit editors or publishers to examine or learn what more papers that old family iron-bound chest contained. He knew well that his grandfather never looked after his writings, and took no stock in the copyrights of his numerous mental offspring. So in 1818, when his first series was published, he again locked the old chest in the vaults of his bankers, where the papers had been deposited for safety well nigh a quarter of a century, and went off to France, awaiting the progress of his venture in the hands of Mr Colburn.

In Paris Temple Franklin lived, married, and after a short time died. Mrs Franklin, as his executrix, administered on his estate, took possession of what property there was, and on the 27th of September, 1823, removed the precious deposits from the bankers. And this was all that Temple Franklin, in conspiracy with the ever abused British Government, did towards '*suppressing*' his grandfather's writings. Man proposes, God disposes. Nearly a century has passed since Franklin died. His enemies and envious rivals have done their best to stifle his merits. The Centennial has passed, and even yet editors and collectors, regardless of copyright and the unused material that lie 'latent' still continue to prize of William Temple Franklin 'mutilating his grandfather's Autobiography' and selling his patrimony to Mr Bull! It is now the old philosopher's turn. The lightning rods that he put in pickle a hundred years ago are abundantly sufficient to protect himself and his grandson now and hereafter. Here is one of them, given as a sample, to show how the old man of fourscore could considerably apply the 'beach seal' to an indiscreet youngster. Beginning at six o'clock in the morning the doctor wrote four letters to Mr William Jackson the same day on the same subject and to the same purport. Temple Franklin, and after him Mr Sparks, have given us the first three, but this fourth good letter has been kept until now. This, with hundreds of other papers, were, we think, wisely withheld for Mr Colburn's second Series of six volumes. The letter will explain itself.

"Passy, July 10, 1781.

"Sir,—Last night I received your fourth letter on the same subject. You are anxious to carry the money with you, because it will reanimate the credit of America. My situation, and long acquaintance with affairs relating to the public credit, enable me, I think, to judge better than you can do, who are a novice in them, what employment of it will most conduce to that end; and I imagine the retaining it to pay the Congress drafts has infinitely the advantage. You repeat that the ship is detained by my refusal. You forget your having written to me expressly, that she waited for my convoy. You remind me of the great expense the detention of the ship occasions. Who has given orders to stop her? It was not me. I had no authority to do it. Have you? And do you imagine, if you have taken such authority upon you, that the Congress ought to bear the expense occasioned by your imprudence? and that the blame of detaining the necessary stores the ship contains will be excused by your fond desire of carrying the money? The noise you have rashly made about this matter, contrary to the advice of Mr Adams, which you asked and received, and which was to comply with my requisition, has already done great

mischief to our credit in Holland. Messrs Fizeaux have declared they will advance to him no more money on his bills upon me to assist in paying the Congress drafts on him. Your commodore, too, complains in a letter I have seen, that he finds it difficult to get money for my acceptances of your drafts in order to clear his ship, though before this proceeding of yours, bills on me were, as Mr Adams assures me, in as good credit on the Exchange of Amsterdam as those of any banker in Europe. I suppose the difficulty mentioned by the commodore is the true reason of the ship's stay, if in fact the convoy is gone without her. Credit is a delicate thing, capable of being blasted with a breath. The public talk you have occasioned about my stopping the money, and the conjectures of the reasons or necessity of doing it, have created doubts and suspicions of most pernicious consequences. It is a matter that should have passed in silence. You repeat as a reason for your conduct, that the money was obtained by the great exertions of Colonel Laurens. Who obtained the grant is a matter of no importance, though the use I propose to make of it is of the greatest. But the fact is not as you state it. I obtained it before he came. And if he were here I am sure I could convince him of the necessity of leaving it, especially after I should have informed him that you had made in Holland the enormous purchase of £40,000 sterling's worth of goods over and above the £10,000 worth, which I had agreed should be purchased by him on my credit; and that you had induced me to engage for the payment of your purchase by showing me a paper said to contain his order for making it, which I then took to be his handwriting, though I afterwards found it to be yours, and not signed by him. It would be additional reason with him when I should remind him that he himself, to induce me to come into the proposal of Commodore Guillon and the rest of the Holland transaction, to which I was averse, assured me he had mentioned it to the Minister, and that it was approved of. That on the contrary I find the Minister remembers nothing of it, very much dislikes it and absolutely refuses to furnish any money to discharge that amount. You finish your letter by telling me that 'the daily enhancement of expense to the United States from these difficulties is worthy the attention of those whose *duty* it is to economise the public money, and to whom the commonweal is entrusted without deranging the special department of another.' The ship's lying there with 500 or 600 men on board is undoubtedly a great daily expense, but it is you that occasion it; and the superior airs you give yourself, young gentleman, of reproof to me, and reminding me of my *duty*, do not become you, whose special department and employ in public affairs, of which you are so vain, is but of yesterday, and would never have existed but by my concurrence, and would have ended in disgrace if I had not supported your enormous purchases by accepting your drafts. The charging me with want of economy is particularly improper in you, when the only instance you know of it is my having indiscreetly complied with your demand in advancing you 120 louis for the expense of your journeys to Paris, and when the only instance I know of your economizing money is your sending me three expresses one after another on the same day all the way from Holland to Paris, each with a letter saying the same thing to the same purpose. This dispute is as useless as it is unpleasant. It can only create ill blood. Pray let us end it. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Benj. Franklin."

We have intimated above that Temple Franklin sometimes omitted important words and even sentences. Here is a case in point, where for some insufficient reason he printed a letter of his grandfather to Mr William Carmichael, dated 12th April, 1781, giving 'three —es' in the places of 'three names'. This was not fair, because it might throw suspicion on the wrong persons. Mr Sparks and Mr Bigelow were not able to fill up the chasms. A reference to the original manuscript supplies the names which are here printed in *italics*, thus removing suspicion from all others.

"I thank you much for your friendly

hints of the operations of my enemies, and of the means I might use to defeat them. Having in view at present no other point to gain but that of rest, I do not take their malice so much amiss, as it may further my project, and perhaps be some advantage to you. *Lee* and *Izard* are open, and so far honourable enemies; the *Adamses*, if enemies, are more covered. I never did any of them the least injury, and can conceive no other source of their malice but envy. To be sure the excessive respect shown me here by all ranks of people, and the little notice taken of them, was a mortifying circumstance; but it was what I could neither prevent nor remedy. Those who feel pain at seeing others enjoy pleasure, and are unhappy, must meet daily with so many causes of torment, that I conceive them to be already in a state of damnation; and, on that account, I ought to drop all resentment with regard to those two gentlemen. But I cannot help being concerned at the mischief their ill tempers will be continually doing in our public affairs, whenever they have any concern in them."

The following unpublished letter of Franklin to Vergennes shows how adroitly the old and trusted philosopher could extricate the Congress and himself from an awkward position into which one of his colleagues had contrived to place them with the Court of France. Most of the correspondence was published by Temple Franklin, but this, the real key to the mystery, was wisely reserved by him and his publisher to help sweeten up their proposed Second Series :—

"Passy, August 3, 1780.

"Sir,—It was, indeed, with very great pleasure that I received the letter your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me, communicating that of the President of Congress, and the resolutions of that body relative to the succours then expected: for the sentiments therein expressed are so different from the language held by Mr. Adams in his late letters to your Excellency, as to make it clear that it was from his particular indiscretion alone, and not from any instructions received by him, that he has given such just cause of displeasure, and that it is impossible his conduct therein should be approved by his constituents. I am glad he has not admitted me to any participation of those writings, and that he has taken the resolution he expresses of not communicating with me, or making use of my intervention in his future correspondence; a resolution that I believe he will keep, as he has never yet communicated to me more of his business in Europe than I have seen in newspapers. I live upon terms of civility with him, not of intimacy. I shall, as you desire, lay before Congress the whole correspondence which you have sent me for that purpose. With the greatest and most sincere respect, I am sir, yours, &c. &c.
B. Franklin."

Mr Sparks, aware from Franklin's will and many other sources, that the papers had been brought to London by the grandson, sought earnestly for them when he was in England, about 1834, while editing his 10 vol. edition; but he found little to fill up or correct in Temple Franklin's six volumes, and nothing whatever of the papers intended for the second series of six volumes. Mr Sparks returned believing them irrecoverably lost. He had no suspicion that they had been put aside for a second series.

In the preface to 'Franklin's Familiar Letters' Mr Sparks had previously written in 1833: "Few eminent men have been so unfortunate, in respect to the publications of their writings as Franklin. No edition of his works, nor of any part of them, except his early philosophical essays, was ever prepared by himself, or published under his own inspection. His letters and papers made their appearance from time to time, either as forced out by the interested motives of booksellers, or the importunity of friends. The papers left by him to his grandson were kept back from the public for more than twenty years



after the author's death, and were at last compiled with little ability in the execution, or justice to the subject. It is moreover to be remembered, with extreme regret, that Franklin's letter books, embracing the entire period of his agency in England, throughout a space of almost twenty years, as well as other original papers, were lost by the negligence or treachery of the person to whose care he entrusted them when he went to France. A few letters to individuals, which have been collected, and short biographical memoranda of his own, relating to detached events afford all the materials that exist for a history of his official transactions and private opinions in the compass of that eventful portion of his life. Owing to a train of circumstances, which at one time were not well understood, but now admit of an easy and full explanation, the character of Franklin suffered in the hands of some of his later associates and contemporaries. Suspicions of his political integrity, and even of his private honesty, were scattered among the credulous, and produced impressions on the minds of many of his countrymen, which his brilliant name and great services have as yet hardly effaced. After a laborious enquiry into this matter, with no ordinary means of information, and opportunities of research, particularly in regard to his acts as Minister Plenipotentiary in France, and in negotiating the treaty of peace at the end of the war, I feel authorised to declare that his conduct admits of unqualified vindication ; that so far from open censure, or the whispers of suspicion, he deserves the lasting praise and gratitude of his country for the manly, consistent, undeviating, honourable, and efficient course he pursued, in the face of numerous obstacles and embarrassments, during the whole nine years of his residence in France. His patriotism and fidelity to his trust were equalled only by his unrivalled talents and sagacity."

This full vindication Mr Sparks endeavoured to present in his subsequent 10 volume edition from material derived mainly from the French Archives, but it must be confessed that his arguments fall somewhat short of the practical demonstration that may be drawn from Franklin's and Vergennes' own original unpublished manuscripts existing in the present collection.

In the year 1840 the 'Franklin Papers,' which had lain more than seventeen years on the top shelf of an old tailor's shop in St James's, in loose bundles (both those that had been to the printers and those reserved for the second instalment) were rescued by a gentleman who had known Temple Franklin a quarter of a century before, and had been a fellow lodger with him over the same tailor's shop. This gentleman, an officer under government, kept these manuscripts for ten or eleven years, fully appreciating his charge, but never finding sufficient leisure from his public duties to look them through. From time to time in his vacations he offered them in bulk to the British Museum, to Lord Palmerston, and to the successive American ministers in London, from 1840 to 1851. He knew nothing of the difficulties of Mr Colburn, or of the division of the papers into the two instalments of printed and not printed, but supposed and said that they had all probably been printed and published. For this reason the collection, though repeatedly offered, was as repeatedly declined at his fixed price.

In 1851 this gentleman again applied to the American minister, then Mr Abbott Lawrence, who at once appointed an interview. On hearing the gentleman's propositions Mr Lawrence frankly told him that he personally knew nothing of such matters, and moreover he had no power to purchase them for the government, but offered to give him a note of introduction to an American gentleman at Morley's who he thought would be likely to know all about the papers, and if they were worth securing, he would no doubt buy the collection.

Mr Lawrence sent a messenger at once with a private note to his friend at Morley's, and the gentleman turned up in the course of the day. Within three-days thereafter the entire collection changed hands. It has been an expensive elephant in the present proprietor's menagerie ever since, for he has spent much time in arranging, repairing, restoring, collating and binding, together with copies and additions, to the extent of above £1000 beyond the original cost.

Mr Colburn, the publisher, was then living, and he kindly communicated to the writer the whole story of his negotiations with Temple Franklin, and the difficulties he had in getting from him the *copy* for the press. The work, when at last published, went off tolerably well, but the success fell far short of their expectations. Mr Colburn, after so many years of anxiety, had not the courage left to go over the labour again to extract from the dilatory editor the promised second instalment. He did not hear of Temple Franklin's death until some time after it took place, and then on enquiring for the papers they could not be traced. In 1833 Mr Colburn, without reprinting had to resort to the publisher's not unfrequent expedient of producing a *new edition*, simply by inserting new title-pages. Hence one may see by comparison with the *copy* that went to the printer, and still preserved, how the omissions, the cut-outs, the transpositions, the mutilations, and the many other defects of omission and commission in the first series, occurred ; and as these volumes became the standard for future editors and historians one can readily see how much Dr Franklin has suffered from incomplete editorship : and hence also one can readily see how the loss of the second and more important series intended to remedy these defects, not only placed Dr Franklin in a false light, but gave a false colouring to American diplomatic and political history generally.

Mr Sparks reprinted Temple Franklin's *copy* as far as it aided him, but he could not get behind it, or fathom its suspicious omissions and other serious defects. He, however, had no suspicion that Temple Franklin's edition contained only half the works of Dr Franklin. Mr Sparks in the preface to his first volume gives an interesting account of the many sources of his new materials. He experienced great difficulties, but was rewarded with eminent success. He added, he says, about 650 articles, including letters and miscellaneous pieces, of which upwards of 460 had never before been printed. But he gained no clue to the real Franklin papers. Hence Sparks' edition, the fullest and best of all, is insufficient and defective wherever that of Temple Franklin fell short. It follows logically that not only the biography of Dr Franklin but the whole History of the Independency, the Revolutionary War, and the Organization of the Government of the United States has vastly suffered by the inexperience of editorship and the subsequent casualties which befel these important papers.

Death, however, excuses Temple Franklin, who, during his life, appears to have guarded his charge with pious reverence. We say *half* but that proves to be too low an estimate by recent cast-off of the original unpublished papers still in the present Franklin collection. The explanation appears to be this. Temple Franklin's six volume octavo edition of 1818 contains a large selection of Dr Franklin's philosophical and other papers previously printed, which made nearly half the work, the remaining half being mostly the earlier or the more personal and private portion of the original manuscripts never before printed.

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Portrait of

William Wadsworth

Hence it is clear that the second series of six volumes was to comprise the remaining scientific papers previously printed, the unpublished manuscripts covering the most important period of Franklin's career, the close of the war, the negotiations for the Peace, the Treaty, together with subsequent correspondence, say 1780-1785, enough in all to make five additional volumes the size of Sparks's. This in general, but the second series was designed to cover the whole period of the first series, so as to render the two a single and indivisible work, to be re-arranged and incorporated in new editions.

Besides this, almost every paper or letter printed for the first time from the original manuscript in Temple Franklin's editions requires explanation, revision and correction by the manuscripts. Sparks had not the opportunity to do this, but it can now be done from the identical *copy* used by Valpy the printer and still preserved in the collection. A single illustration will serve our purpose. Only half of Franklin's letter to Benjamin Vaughan of the 9th Nov. 1779, is given in the text by Temple Franklin, the other half having been scissored out and transferred to a note in the Autobiography, giving further particulars of the history of the little London book *Liberty and Necessity*. Mr Sparks reprinted this important note and put the initials W. T. F. after it. Mr Bigelow also reprinted it and by some inadvertance substituted B in one edition, and Ed. in another (p. 179) in place of W. T. F. at the same time altering the name of Lyons (4) to Symis, of course a mere typographical error, but rendering a recurrence to the original manuscripts necessary, especially as there are hundreds of such variations by different editors.

These are some of the particulars respecting the Franklin Collection, but a more detailed account, with names and dates, can be supplied by Mr Henry Stevens if needed. The Franklin Collection bought in 1851, comprises roughly:—

I. The original Records or Letter Books of the American Legation in Paris during the American Revolutionary War and subsequently, 1776-1785, including correspondence with the French Government; the negotiations for supplies to carry on the War; letters, papers, &c. relative to Paul Jones and his ventures and raids; Captain Cook and his Voyage of Discovery; privateering, negotiations for Peace, the Treaty, and correspondence with Holland, Russia, Spain, &c. &c.

II. Original Manuscripts by Franklin, his Essays, Miscellaneous Writings, private correspondence, squibs, bagatelles, &c.

III. Autobiography and biographical memoranda preparatory to the writing of his Life, with the history of his times to be published after his death.

IV. The original correspondence with the American Government or retained, or press copies, on public affairs. With many public and private letters to and from public and private citizens in America and elsewhere.

V. The original Petition of the Congress to the King in October, 1774, signed in duplicate by all the 50 Members of the Continental Congress, a document second only in interest and historical importance to the Declaration of Independence itself. This Petition setting forth all the grievances after the manner of the Declaration was signed by the Members in two copies. The President of the Congress sent both copies enclosed in a long letter to Franklin in London, by different ships. Franklin received both. The one he presented to the Minister for the King, and the other he kept. Both petitions are equally original. The Congress retained no copy with auto-

graph signatures. The King's copy is now in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the other is the gem of our Franklin Collection.

VI. The Hartley Correspondence. The Hutchinson Papers Correspondence. Speaker Cushing, of the Massachusetts General Court, his letters, &c.

VII. Records and Correspondence of the Commissioners on the part of England to negotiate the Treaty of 1783, together with copies of important State Papers, including a complete transcript of Oswald's Journal preserved in the Marquis of Lansdown's library.

VIII. Essays in form of Letters, on 'Perfumes' and 'Choice of a Mistress,' witty and explosive, but perhaps too Dean Swiftian for the press.

IX. The original Autograph Manuscript of Franklin's 'Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion.' In Two Parts.

Here will I hold. If there is a Power above us
(And that there is, all Nature cries aloud)
Thro' all her Works) He must delight in Virtue—
And that which he delights in must be happy.—*Cato.*

Part I. Philada. Nov. 20, 1728, 16° bound in blue morocco by Bedford

This precious manuscript is believed to be the earliest Autograph we have of Franklin. There is another copy, a little larger, bound also in morocco, probably a few years later, but unfortunately wanting a few leaves, which have been filled in recently by the writer from the original copy.

X. The original Craven Street Letter Book somewhat mildewed and injured, but containing the original drafts or records of many important Letters, especially private and domestic ones; many to 'My dear Child,' his wife.

XI. The Draft of Franklin's famous letter to his friend Strahan the printer:

"Mr STRAHAN, Philada. July 5, 1775.

"You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction. You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People.—Look upon your Hands!—They are stained with the Blood of your Relations!—You and I were long Friends.—You are now my Enemy, and I am, Yours, B. FRANKLIN."

A large proportion of the above eleven lots was reserved for the Second Series by Temple Franklin and consequently never printed. To these acquired in 1851 have been added at considerable expense several important manuscripts which once belonged to the collection, but parted with probably as autographs.

It should perhaps be mentioned that very many of Dr Franklin's letters and papers are preserved in two, three, four or even five states, while in some cases there are discrepancies which may account for some slips that have been or may be attributed to bad editorship. These states or conditions of the papers may be called:—1. The rough draft in the hand of Dr Franklin, sometimes with many interlineations and corrections. 2. The fair copy by his private secretary or one of his clerks, frequently with corrections and alterations by Franklin before attaching his signature. 3. The press copy, a process said to be invented by Dr Franklin as early as 1777, or perhaps only improved in conjunction with Watt and his English patent press for copying. 4. The Record in the folio Letter Books. And 5. Sometimes there were two, or a second fair copy after the Doctor's first revision and correction, this being the document signed and

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Philad. July 5. 1775

W^r Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament,
and one of that Majority which has
doomed my Country to Destruction.—
—You have begun to burn our Towns,
and murder our People. — Look upon
your Hands! — They are stained with the
Blood of ^{your} Relations! — You and I were
long Friends: — You are now my Enemy,
— and

I am,

Yours,

B Franklin



despatched. In some cases this last document was subsequently transcribed and may have varied somewhat from all the others and thus lay the editor open to charges of inaccuracy. Generally, though not always, the press-copy was the last taken. In many cases the Collection contains three, four and sometimes the five states of the paper. All are important either for tracing variations or correcting errors. Besides these the Collection contains a great number of original Letters from Vergennes, Lafayette and others in French, as well as of Speaker Cushing and many others in English.

From time to time the manuscripts have been sorted, repaired, arranged, and a good number of them bound by Bedford in his best style in blue morocco. More recently they have been catalogued, arranged, copied, and cast off at an expense of £300, so that the collection is now in an advanced state for the editor. This cast off after the manner of the printer is so minute in the estimated number of words that by it and the catalogue of the 2938 papers one may estimate not only the entire bulk of the collection, but the printed and not printed portions of it. This summing up, taking Sparks' volumes as standards, amounts to this : about 2430 pages have never been printed, 1195 pages printed, but not always accurately, in Sparks ; 246 pages printed in the Diplomatic Correspondence, but not printed in Sparks, and about 300 pages printed both in Sparks and the Diplomatic Correspondence. This printing house estimate corresponds sufficiently near to that of the writer given above, that the unpublished matter is enough to fill five volumes of the size of Sparks' volumes. Besides the manuscripts, the proprietor of the collection has from time to time purchased at large expense many of Franklin's early and rarer publications, as well as most of the recent ones of his works and books relating to him. A separate list is appended of all these, numbered from 1 to 204, from which any one may see at a glance that the list contains almost all of the rare ones, such as

1. Poor Richard's Almanack 1740-1765, no less than 18 of them as described in our Nuggets together with later continuations.

2. Franklin's Pocket Almanacs, 32° 1742-1766, 20 of them between those years mostly perfect and in good order, probably a unique collection of anything like this extent.

3. Franklin's Pennsylvania Gazette, nearly eight years of this celebrated newspaper in fine condition, clean and mostly uncut, bound, in 2 thick volumes.

4. Franklin's General Magazine for Jan. Feb. and March, 1741, believed to be the first literary Monthly Magazine in English North America, in fine condition and bound in morocco extra to a Roger Payne pattern.

5. Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain, 1725, a fine copy in morocco by Bedford of the little free-book, written, composed and printed by Franklin himself while first in London at the age of 18. Only 100 copies were printed, and as he says in his autobiography mostly destroyed. Two copies only are now known to exist. This one, and one we formerly had, but turned out as a duplicate at Puttick and Simpson's. It was sold for £19 19s. and bought by Hotten against the British Museum. After Hotten's death in 1872, it was again sold there and fetched £22 10s., still against the bid of the British Museum. No edition of the Works of Franklin contained this rare little book until Mr Parton in 1864 reprinted it from a manuscript transcript from the present copy supplied by the writer. That transcript by Mr Stevens, Mr Parton deposited

in the library of the New York Historical Society. The copy noticed in Notes and Queries of Jan. 3, 1852, by Mr James Crossley, was the Irish reprint of 1733 (3).

6. Liberty and Necessity, Dublin 1733, 16 pages. This edition, or Irish reprint, is believed to be unique. It has just half the number of pages of the original Franklin Edition, being in smaller type.

7. Wollaston's Religion of Nature, 4° London, 1725. Fine large paper copy in old red morocco extra; on this book Franklin worked as a compositor at Palmer's in 1725, and from it probably imbibed his shortlived free notions that appeared in his Liberty and Necessity. This is the only large paper copy known.

8. Cicero's Cato Major, or his Discourse of Old Age, a very fine, clean and perfectly uncut copy, and bound in blue morocco by Bedford, the finest copy known. B. Franklin, Philadelphia, 1744, 4° (see 56).

9. Dr Lyons's Infallibility of Human Judgment, 1724, 16° (see No. 4).

10. An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvania Fire Places, 1744 (see 57).

Besides these the Collection contains nearly 300 volumes of Franklin's earlier pieces, his books and pamphlets, &c., together with books concerning him, as detailed in the following list, occupying pages 21 to 39 of this bibliographical essay, to which the patient reader is referred.

It has been the fashion of late to depreciate FRANKLIN, and to stigmatize his grandson, William Temple, more especially in Philadelphia, a proceeding which reminds one of the Bibliofilos Andaluces decrying the Life of Columbus as a fraud on Spain that owes, everybody knows, as much to the Great Discoverer, as Philadelphia owes to her Great Philosopher. But fortunately their shafts and poisoned arrows can all be parried by the simple truth of history. Franklin's points saved many of their houses, and his papers may yet save himself and confound his enemies. During the Revolutionary War Europe was overrun with Commissioners and Agents of the Congress, all of whom had to be fed and paid by Franklin. They hated him, though he was the only banker that could honour their drafts. When Franklin's works appeared in 1818, and enlarged by Sparks in 1836-40, with no personal vindication, his enemies and their descendants sought openly to elevate their own by depreciating Franklin. Correspondence of this sort about 1830 has appeared in the Magazine of American History. The unpublished personalities among the Franklin papers, it is believed, are abundant to dissipate and neutralize all these aspersions. Franklin, during his nine years' residence in Paris, devoted himself to the advancement of the cause he had espoused, and rarely permitted himself to notice the 'slings of outrageous fortune' by which he was surrounded. He continued to be the Banker of the Congress, and the provider of its army and navy. He had his spiteful little enemies at home and abroad, and knew it, yet generously fed them while they were biting his back. One would think by the way the moderns write that they are under the impression that the Old Philosopher had forgotten or neglected to book his observations. He however was not likely to omit recording the antidote to the transactions of his enemies. He could afford to wait. But all these are minor things in comparison with the collection itself, the sealed storehouse of American history, science, literature, biography and diplomacy. With all these unpublished manuscripts, and this unparalleled collection of printed books of and relating to Franklin, the Truth of History must come out.

THE LADY
ALICE MALLORY



Engraved by J. S. Adams

THE MALLORY

SIX MONTHLY PAINTINGS IN TWO VOLUMES

12/- EACH VOL.



FRANKLIN'S PRINTED WORKS, ETC.



DISSERTATION on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain.

Whatever is, is in its Causes just
Since all Things are by Fate; but purblind Man
Sees but a part o' th' Chain, the nearest Link,
His Eyes not carrying to the equal Beam
That poises all above.

DRYDEN.

London : Printed in the year 1725, 32 pp. blue morocco,

(N° 1)

by Bedford. 8°

Dr Franklin in his Autobiography, does not quote the lines from Dryden
the same as given here in the motto.

THE RELIGION of Nature Delineated [2 Greek mottos and the vignette, a printing press]. London : Printed by Samuel Palmer, in Bartholomew Close, and Sold by B. Lintot, W. and J. Innys, J. Osborn and T. Longman, and J. Battey, 1726. 219 pp. signed at end by the author WILLIAM WOLLASTON, followed by one blank page ; Index, 11 pp. not numbered. Splendid copy on LARGE and THICK PAPER, in old red morocco gilt edges. royal 4° (2)
On this book Franklin worked while with Palmer in 1725. The general style is similar, and the identical woodcut on the title of this volume appeared at the end of Franklin's Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity.
See Autobiography.

A DISSERTATION on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain. In a Letter to a Friend. [Motto as above.] Dublin : Printed in the year 1733, 16 pp. 8° (3)
Dr Franklin, in his Autobiography says, "At Palmer's [in Bartholomew Close] I was employed in composing for the second edition of Wollaston's "Religion of Nature." Some of his reasonings not appearing to me well founded, I wrote a little metaphysical piece, in which I made remarks on them. It was entitled "*a Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain.*" I inscribed it to my friend Ralph; I printed a small number. . . . My printing this pamphlet was another *erratum*. In another place Franklin says he printed only 100 copies, of which he gave a few away and burnt the rest. No mention is made of this Dublin reprint.

THE INFALLIBILITY of Human Judgment, Its Dignity and Excellency. Being a new Art of Reasoning, and discovering Truth, by reducing all disputable Cases to general and self-evident Propositions, etc. With The Supplement, answering all Objections, etc. The Fourth edition. To which is

now added a Postscript, etc. By Mr. Lyons. London, J. Brotherton, 1724, 6 prelim. leaves and 252 pp. 16° (4)

Pages 209-240 are occupied by "A dissertation on Liberty and Necessity." Dr Franklin in his Autobiography says, "My pamphlet ['A dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain'] by some means falling into the hands of one Lyons, a surgeon, author of a book entitled, 'The Infallibility of Human Judgment,' it occasioned an acquaintance between us. He took great notice of me, called on me often to converse on those subjects, carried me to the Horns, a pale alehouse in — Lane, Cheapside, and introduced me to Dr. Mandeville, author of the 'Fable of the Bees,' who had a club there, of which he was the soul, being a most facetious, entertaining companion; Lyons, too, introduced me to Dr. Pemberton, at Batson's Coffee-house, who promised to give me an opportunity, some time or other, of seeing Sir Isaac Newton, of which I was extremely desirous; but this never happened." Franklin was at this time a boy of nineteen.

POOR RICHARD, 1733. An Almanack for the year of Christ 1733. Philadelphia : B. Franklin [1732] Reprint. 8° (5)

THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE, October 11, 1739. Numb. 565 to Dec. 27, 1739. Numb. 576 [weekly] containing the freshest Advises foreign and domestic [Colophon] Philadelphia : Printed by B. Franklin, Post-Master, at the New-Printing-Office near the Market, price 10s. a year, Where Advertisements are taken in, and Book-Binding is done reasonably, in the best Manner. 4 pages to a number. Eleven numbers complete in 1739. 4° (6)

The Pennsylvania Gazette, etc. 1740, No. 577 to 628, 52 Nos. complete. 4°

The Pennsylvania Gazette, etc. 1741, No. 629 to 681, 53 Nos. complete. 4°

The Pennsylvania Gazette, etc. 1744, No. 786 Jan. 3 to 837, 52 Nos. wanting 816, 821, 823, 825 and 828. f°

The Pennsylvania Gazette, etc. 1745, No. 838 to 890, 53 Nos. wanting 851, last half of 875 and 879. f°

The Pennsylvania Gazette, etc. 1746, No. 891 to 942, 52 Nos. wanting 912, 23, 25, 27, 33 and 934. f°

The Penn. Gazette, etc. 1747, No. 943 to 994, 52 Nos. wanting 947, 51, 69 & 978. f°

The Pennsylvania Gazette, etc. 1748, No. 995 to 1046, Dec. 27, 52 Nos. wanting 1018 and 1035. f°

The number 996 for Jan. 12, 1748, N.S. has this Colophon "Philadelphia : Printed by B. Franklin, Post-Master, and D. Hall, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market," and so on to the end without change. The papers usually contain 4 pages, but there are many supplements, advertising sheets or half sheets, and double numbers. Barring the 20 Numbers wanting as stated the whole of these two series of 377 numbers are in excellent condition.

POOR RICHARD, 1740. An Almanack for the Year of Christ 1740, Being Leap Year, etc. etc. Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours West from London, but may without sensible Error, serve all the adjacent Places, even from Newfoundland to South-Carolina. By Richard Saunders, Philom. Philadelphia : Printed and sold by B. Frank-

- lin at the New Printing Office near the Market. 24 pp. wanting lower half of title, the upper half of 2d leaf and the last 3 leaves. 12° (7)
- Poor Richard, 1741. An Almanack, etc. Phil. B. Franklin, 24 pp. 12° (8)
- Poor Richard, 1742. Phil. B. Franklin, 24 pp. wanting title and next leaf. 12° (9)
- Poor Richard, 1743. Phil. B. Franklin, 24 pp. wanting last leaf. 12° (10)
- Poor Richard improved, 1748. Phil. B. Franklin, 36 pp. 1st Edition, wants last leaf. 12° (11)
- Poor Richard improved, 1750. Phil. B. Franklin and D. Hall, 36 pp. 12° (12)
- Poor Richard improved, 1752. B. Franklin and D. Hall, 36 pp. 12° (13)
- Poor Richard improved, 1754. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 36 pp. wants last leaf. 12° (14)
- Poor Richard improved, 1756. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 36 pp. the 12th and 18th leaves are mutilated. 12° (15)
- Poor Richard improved, 1757. B. Franklin and D. Hall, 36 pp. wants last 3 leaves. 12° (16)
- Poor Richard improved, 1758. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 36 pp. fine copy of the rarest and best of all Poor Richard's Almanacs, with the proverbs collected in a speech. [See Stevens' Nuggets, No. 110] 12° (17)
- Poor Richard improved, 1759. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 36 pp. wants last 2 leaves (18)
- Poor Richard improved, 1761. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 36 pp. fine copy. 12° (19)
- Poor Richard improved, 1762. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 36 pp. 12° (20)
- Poor Richard improved, 1763. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 36 pp. 12° (21)
- Poor Richard improved, 1764. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 32 pp. 12° (22)
- Poor Richard improved, 1765. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 36 pp. 12° (23)
- This is believed to be the last almanac that bore Franklin's name, Continued as
- Poor Richard improved, 1767. By R. Saunders. Phil. Hall & Sellers, 36 pp. 12° (24)
- Poor Richard improved, 1768. By R. Saunders. Phil. Hall & Sellers, 36 pp. 12° (25)
- Poor Richard improved, 1775. By R. Saunders. Phil. Hall & Sellers, 36 pp. 12° (26)
- Poor Richard improved, 1780. Phil. Hall & Sellers, 36 pp. 3 leaves mutil. 12° (27)
- Poor Richard improved, 1781. By R. Saunders. Phil. Hall & Sellers, 36 pp. 12° (28)
- Poor Richard improved, 1782. By R. Saunders. Phil. Hall & Sellers, 36 pp. title torn. 12° (29)
- Poor Richard improved, 1783. By R. Saunders. Phil. Hall & Sellers, 36 pp. 12° (30)
- Poor Richard improved, 1784. By R. Saunders. Phil. Hall & Sellers, 36 pp. 12° (31)
- Poor Richard improved, 1790. By R. Saunders. Phil. Hall & Sellers, 40 pp. 12° (32)
- Poor Richard improved, 1792. By R. Saunders. Phil. Hall & Sellers, 44 pp. 12° (33)

THE GENERAL Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, For all the British Plantations in America. [To be continued Monthly.] January, 1741 [Large Wood-cut, the Prince of Wales' Feathers] vol. I. Philadelphia : Printed and Sold by B. Franklin. N° 1, title and 74 pp. ; N° II, for Feb. 1741, pp. 75-146 ; Num. III, for March 1741, pp. 147 to 216. Splendid copy, handsomely printed, some leaves rather closely cut. Sumptuously bound by Pratt in blue Venetian grained morocco extra to a Roger Payne pattern. Six Numbers only were published, as appears by the announcements in Franklin's Pennsylvania Gazette for 1741. Published at 9d. currency a number. We know not of a perfect set. 12° (34)

AN APPENDIX ; Containing a Summary of such Acts of Assembly As have been formerly in Force within this Province, for Regulating of Descents, and

- Transferring the Property of Lands, &c. But since expired, altered or repealed. Philadelphia : Printed by B. Franklin, M,DCC,XLII, title, reverse blank, Advertisement to the Reader [by B. Franklin?] pp. iii & iv. text pp. 1-16 (wanting all after). f° (35)
- A POCKET / Almanack / For the Year 1742. / Fitted for the Use of Penn- / sylvania, and the neigh- / bouring Provinces. / By Richard Saunders, Phil. / Philadelphia : / Printed by B. Franklin. / 16 pp. 32° (36)
Also the same for the following years.
- A Pocket Almanack, etc. for 1743. Phil. B. Franklin, 16 pp. 32° (37)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1744. With several useful Adns. Phil. B. F. 24 pp. 32° (38)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1745. Phil. B. Franklin, 24 pp. 32° (39)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1746. Phil. B. Franklin, 24 pp. 32° (40)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1747. Phil. B. Franklin, 24 pp. 32° (41)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1748. Phil. B. Franklin, 24 pp. 32° (42)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1749. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (43)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1750. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (44)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1751. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (45)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1752. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (46)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1753. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (47)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1754. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (48)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1755. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (49)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1756. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (50)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1757. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (51)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1758. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (52)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1764. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (53)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1765. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (54)
- A Pocket Almanack, for 1766. Phil. B. Franklin & D. Hall, 24 pp. 32° (55)
- M. T. CICERO's Cato Major, or his Discourse of Old-Age : With Explanatory Notes. Philadelphia : Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, 1744. Title, Introduction, Index to Notes viii, and 159 pp. fine copy, uncut, blue morocco extra, gilt edges by F. Bedford. 4° (56)
- AN ACCOUNT of the New-Invented Pennsylvania Fire Places ; wherein their construction and manner of Operation is particularly explained ; their advantages above any other method of warming rooms demonstrated, etc. And a copperplate, in which the several parts of the machine are exactly laid down from a scale of equal parts. Philadelphia, B. Franklin, 1744, 37 pp. 8°. (57)
- EXPERIMENTS and Observations on Electricity made at Philadelphia, in America. By Mr. Benjamin Franklin, Esq. London : E. Cave, 1751, plates, 4° (58)
- SUPPLEMENTAL Experiments and Observations on Electricity, Part II. made at Philadelphia in America. By Benjamin Franklin, Esq. and Communicated in several Letters to P. Collinson, Esq. of London, F.R.S. London : E. Cave, 1753, title and pp. 89 to 107, sewn. 4° (59)
- AN HISTORICAL Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, from its Origin ; So far as regards the several Points of Controversy, which have, from Time to Time, arisen between the several Governors of that

Province, and their several Assemblies. Founded on Authentic documents. London, R. Griffiths, 1759. [Generally attributed to Dr. Franklin, but disowned by him in his letter to David Hume, the historian, the 27th Sept. 1760. Sparks, vii, 208.] viii, 18 and 444 pp. [This copy belonged to the Penn Family and has many manuscript notes by the Proprietor, Thomas Penn.] 8° (60)

NEW Experiments and Observations on Electricity. Made at Philadelphia in America. By Benjamin Franklin, Esq. and Communicated in several letters to Peter Collinson, Esq. of London, F.R.S. Part I, 3d edition 1760, 86 pp. Part II, 3d edition 1762, pp. 87-110. Part III, (1st edition) 1754, iv and iii to 154, in 1 vol. London : D. Henry and R. Cave, 1760-62-54, sewn, uncut. 4° (61)

THE INTEREST of Great Britain Considered, with Regard to her Colonies, And the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadaloupe. To which are added, Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc. [By Benjamin Franklin]. London, T. Becket, 1760, title and 58 pp. 8° (62)

THE INTEREST of Great Britain, etc. The Second Edition. London, T. Becket, 1761, title and 58 pp. 8° (63)

AN ANSWER to Mr. Franklin's Remarks, on a late Protest. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by William Bradford 1764, 22 pp. 8° (64)

PHYSICAL and Meteorological Observations, Conjectures, and Suppositions, By Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. F.R.S. Read at the Royal Society, June 3, 1756. London : Printed in the Year 1766, 15 pp. uncut. 4° (65)

THE NEW London Gazette [extra] No. 152 for Oct. 10, 1766. The Examination of Dr. Franklin before an August Assembly, relating to the Repeal of the Stamp Act, 2 pp. of 3 columns each. sm. f° (66)

THE EXAMINATION of Dr. Benjamin Franklin before an Honourable Assembly, relative to the Repeal of the American Stamp Act, in 1766. London, 1766. 50 pp. 8° (67)

INTERROGATOIRE de Mr. Franklin Député de Pensilvanie au Parlement de la Grande Bretagne. Traduit de l'Anglois par Ch . . . D. H . . . Maitre de la langue Anglois à Strasbourg. A Strasbourg, Simon Kürsner [1767?] 35 pp. half roan. 8° (68)

EXPERIMENTS and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America, by B. Franklin, LL.D. and F.R.S. to which is added Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects. The whole corrected, methodized, improved, and now first collected into one volume, and illustrated with copperplates. London : David Henry, 1769, plates, iv, 496 pp. and Index, old calf. 4° (69)

A PARABLE against Persecution, in Imitation of Scripture Language. A small quarto leaf so printed as to be inserted at the end of Genesis as Chapter 51st, the only copy known. Mutilated and worn [1770?] (70)

REPORT of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations on the Petition of the Honourable Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, John Sargent and Samuel Wharton, Esquires, and their Associates; for a Grant of Land,

- on the River Ohio, in North America: for the purpose of Erecting a new Government. With Observations and Remarks. London: J. Almon, 1772, 109 pp. uncut, sewn. 8° (71)
- ŒUVRES de M. Franklin, Traduites de l'Anglois sur la quatrieme edition. Par M. Barbeau Dubourg, avec des additions nouvelles et des Figures en Taille douce. Paris, 1773, 2 Tom. in 1, blue morocco extra by Bedford. 4° (72)
- COPY of Letters sent to Great Britain, by His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, the Hon. Andrew Oliver, and several other Persons, born and educated among us. Which original Letters have been returned to America [by Dr. Franklin] and laid before the honourable House of Representatives of this Province. In which (notwithstanding his Excellency's Declaration to the House, that the Tendency and Design of them was not to subvert the Constitution, but rather to preserve it entire) the judicious Reader will discover the fatal source of the Confusion and Bloodshed in which this Province especially has been involved, and which threatened total Destruction to the Liberties of all America. Boston: Edes&Gill, 1773, 40 pp. 8° (73)
- THE REPRESENTATIONS of Gov. Hutchinson and others, contained in certain Letters Transmitted to England, And afterwards returned from thence [by Dr. Franklin] and laid before the General Assembly of the Massachusetts-Bay. Together with the Resolves of the two Houses thereon. Boston: Edes & Gill, 1773, title and 94 pp. 8° (74)
- THE LETTERS of Gov. Hutchinson and Lt. Gov. Oliver, &c. Printed at Boston. And Remarks thereon. With the Assembly's Address, and the Proceedings of the Lords Committee of Council. Together with the Substance of Mr. Wedderburn's Speech relating to those Letters. London: J. Wilkie, 1774, title and 134 pp. 8° (75)
- THE LETTERS of Gov. Hutchinson, and Lt. Gov. Oliver, &c. Printed at Boston. And remarks thereon. With the Assembly's Address, And the Proceedings of the Lords Committee of Council. Together with the Substance of Mr. Wedderburn's Speech relating to those Letters. And the Report of the Lords Committee to his Majesty in Council. The second edition. London: J. Wilkie, 1774, half-title, title and 142 pp. 8° (76)
- EXPERIMENTS and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America, by B. Franklin, to which are added Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects. 5th Edition. London, F. Newbery, 1774, plates, title and preface v, text 514 pp. index, blue morocco extra, g. e. by F. Bedford. 4° (77)
- PRINCIPLES of Trade. Freedom and Protection are its best Support: Industry, the only Means to render Manufactures cheap. Of Coins; Exchange; and Bountys; particularly on Corn. By a Well-Wisher to his King and Country. With an Appendix. Containing Reflections on Gold, Silver, and Paper passing as Money. The Second Edition corrected and enlarg'd. London, Brotherton and Sewell, MDCCCLXXIV. 3 prel. leaves and 48 pp. 'Appendix' 16 pp. old tree calf. 8° (78)
- This copy once belonged to William Vaughan, who has written on its fly leaf "N.B. The Notes by Dr. Franklin. The information given by Sewell, to W. V."

JOURNAL of the Proceedings of the Congress held at Philadelphia Sept. 5, 1774, containing the Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, &c. To which is added (being now first printed by authority) an authentic Copy of the PETITION TO THE KING. London, J. Almon, 1775. 8° (79)

Dr. Franklin, about the 15th or 16th of Dec. 1774, received these Proceedings of the Congress, with the Petition to the King dated the 26th October previous. The times were growing very serious, and it was thought best to let Almon publish them immediately. The effect was startling, for the pamphlet proclaimed to the discriminating British public (if there was at that time such a body) that the English language had acquired new vigour and clearness in being transplanted to the Western shores. The pith, point and soundness of these public papers astonished the statesmen and confounded the politicians, and at the same time delighted the friends of the Colonies particularly Lord Chatham and Lord Camden. But the ministry were bomb proof. For a full account of the negotiations that immediately followed through Lady Howe and her brother see Franklin's long letter to his son dated 22 March, 1775, on shipboard bound for home. The original Petition of the Congress, from which the above was printed, containing the signatures of 50 of the Delegates, after the manner of the Declaration of Independence, and second only to that immortal Paper, belongs now to Mr Stevens' Franklin Collection.

THE WAY to Wealth, As clearly shewn in the Preface of an old Pennsylvanian Almanack [1758], intitled, Poor Richard Improved. By Richard Saunders [London, 1775] 8 pp. 8° (80)

AN HUMBLE Address and earnest Appeal . . . whether a connection with or a separation from the Continental Colonies of America be most for the National Advantage and lasting benefit of these kingdoms. The third edition corrected. By Josiah Tucker, D.D. Dean of Gloucester. London, T. Cadell, 1776, 96 pp. with folding sheet at page 49. 8° (81)

Dean Tucker, in his first edition, attacked Dr Franklin with clerical indiscretion, for which the Doctor called upon him for his authorities, and to verify his statements. The correspondence is crisp, polite and spicy. In the 2nd edition the Dean simply omitted the offensive charges and made no explanation or apology. In this 3rd edition, being badgered by the friends of Franklin, who had himself returned to America, the Dean explains, but his explanation seems as lame and crooked as his former charges.

THOUGHTS on the present State of Affairs with America, and the Means of Conciliation. By William Pultney, Esq. The Fourth Edition [Refers to the Congress at Albany in 1754, & in Appendix No. 1 reprints Letters of Dr Franklin taken from the London Chronicle of the 6th to 8th of Feb. 1766]. London, J. Dodsley, 1778, title and 102 pp. 8° (82)

THOUGHTS on the present State of Affairs with America, and the Means of Conciliation. By William Pultney. Fifth Edition [with an Appendix, No. III, a Corrective Letter from Dr. Franklin, dated Passy, March 12, 1778.] London, J. Dodsley, 1778, 111 pp. 8° (83)

LA SCIENCE du Bonhomme Richard, ou le moyen facile de payer les Impots dans les possessions de l'Amerique Angloise [contents on the title page] 166 pp. half old calf, perfectly UNCUT. Philadelphie, et se trouve à Lausanne chez François Grasset & Comp. 1778. 12° (84)

LA SCIENCE du Bonhomme Richard, moyen facile de payer les impôts. Traduit de l'Anglois. Troisieme edition, exactement semblable à la premiere. A Philadelphie. Se vend à Paris chez Ruault, 1778 [woodcut vignette] 151 pp. and Livres, etc. 5 pp. 12° (85)

M. T. CICERO's Cato Major, or discourse on Old Age. Addressed to Titus Pomponius Atticus. With explanatory notes. By Benj. Franklin, LL.D. London: Fielding & Walker, 1778, sewn, title, introduction and index iv and text 163 pp. 8° (86)

POLITICAL, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces ; Now first collected, With Explanatory Plates, Notes, And an Index to the whole. [Edited by Benjamin Vaughan.] London: J. Johnson, 1779, xi, text, appendix and index with addenda, 574 pp. portrait, plates, large paper, blue morocco extra, gilt edges by F. Bedford. 8° (87)

POLITICAL, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces : arranged under the following Heads, &c. Written by Benj. Franklin, LL.D. and F.R.S. etc. Now first collected, with explanatory Plates, Notes and an Index [Edited by Benjamin Vaughan] London, J. Johnson, 1779, portrait (88)

This copy has the autograph of S. Knight on the title page, and under the portrait in the same handwriting,

Eripuit celo fulmen, sceptrumq Tyrannis,
and underneath in the same hand, but with different pen and ink,
Eripuitq Jovi fulmen, sceptrumq Tonanti
viresque Lucretius
Manilius

REMARKS on the Rescript of the Court of Madrid and on the Manifesto of the Court of Versailles. In a Letter to the Court of Great Britain. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Rescript, the Manifesto, and a Memorial of Dr. Franklin to the Court of Versailles. London, T. Cadell, 1779, viii and 91 pp. 8° (89)

Franklin's memorial occupies pages 88 to 91. It had already been printed by Almon, who omitted about one quarter of it.

LA CASSETTE Verte de Monsieur de Sartine, trouvée chez Mademoiselle du Thé (Cinquième édition) revue & corrigée sur celles de Leipsic & l'Amsterdam. A La Haye : Veuve Whiskerfeld, 1779, half-title, title and 71 pp. [Franklin concerned]. 8° (90)

THE GREEN Box of Monsieur de Sartine, found at Mademoiselle Du Thé's lodgings. From the French of the Hague edition ; revised and corrected by those of Leipsic and Amsterdam. [By Mr. Tickell.] London, Becket, 1779. 8° (91)

TWO LETTERS from Dr. Franklin, to the Earl of Shelburne, "Government is the Art of Oppression with Impunity." London: M. Folingsby and J. Debrett [1782] ii and 31 pp. sewn. 8° (92)

NUMB. 705. Supplement to the Boston Independent Chronicle, Mch. 1782. f° (93)

This is a skit on the Great British Public, being a close imitation of a Boston newspaper, with letter from Paul Jones, British Advertisements for Scalps, and account of bundles of Scalps of the Americans consigned by the Indians in British pay to Agents in London, all of which fell into the hands of the Yankees and hence this exposure in the newspaper. This "Supplement," printed by Franklin at his private press at Passy, was a good joke, and is believed to be unique.

PROVISIONAL Articles, Signed at Paris, the 30th of November, 1782, by the Commissioner of His Britannic Majesty, and the Commissioners of the United States of America. Published by Authority. London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1783. Signed by Richard Oswald, John Adams, B. Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens. Witnesses, Caleb Whitefoord and W. T. Franklin, 8 pp. 4° (94)

FRAGMENT de Xénophon, Nouvellement trouvé dans les Ruines de Palmyre, par un Anglois; & déposé au Museum Britannicum, à Londres. Traduit du Grec, par un François; Et lu à l'Assemblée publique du Musée de Paris, du jeudi 6 Mars 1783. A Paris, De l'Imprimerie de Ph.-D. Pierres, l'Imprimeur Ordinaire du Roi, 1783, 52 pp. calf extra. 32° (95)

Mostly about Franklin, probably a take-off of Sir William Jones's pretended Fragment of Polybius which he showed to Doctor Franklin to hint a treaty of Peace with Great Britain.

OPERE Politiche di Beniamino Franklin, LL.D. F.R.S. nuovamente raccolte e dall' Originale Inglese recate nella lingua Italiana. Padova, 1783, portrait, viii and 287 pp. uncut, stitched. 8° (96)

ADDRESS and Recommendations to the States, by the United States in Congress assembled. Phil. printed; Boston Reprinted by order of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1783. [Papers No. 4 & 5 show in a very frank and clear manner how and to what an enormous amount Dr. Franklin raised the sinews of war for America in France.] 8° (97)

ADDRESS & Recommendations to the States. Another edition with Connecticut additions. Hartford, 1783. 4° (98)

REMARKS concerning the Savages of North America [By Dr. Franklin]. Birmingham, 1784. 8° (99)

Two Tracts: information to those who would remove to America. And, Remarks concerning the Savages of North America. By Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Second Edition. London: John Stockdale, 1784, 39 pp. 8° (100)

Two TRACTS: Information to those who would remove to America. And remarks concerning the Savages of North America. Third Edition. London: John Stockdale, 1784, 39 pp. half roan. 8° (101)

OSSERVAZIONE a chiunque desideri passare in America; e riflessioni circa i selvaggi dell' America settentrionale del Dre. Franklin dall' originale Inglese regate in lingua Italiana da Pietro Antoricutti. Padova, Gio. Antonio Conzatti, 1785, 38 pp. half morocco. 8° (102)

REPORT of Dr. B. Franklin, and other Commissioners, charged by the King of

France with the examination of the Animal-Magnetism, as now practised at Paris. Translated from the French with an Historical Introduction. London, J. Johnson, 1785, 108 pp. blue morocco extra, gilt edges by F. Bedford. 8° (103)

OBSERVATIONS on a late publication intituled, Thoughts on Executive Justice: To which is added, A Letter [from Benjamin Franklin] containing remarks on the same work. London : T. Cadell, 1786, 162 pp. 16° (104)
The Letter from a Gentleman abroad [Dr. Franklin] fills pages 137 to 162, dated March 14, 1785, and signed at end "ever yours * * *."

OBSERVATIONS on the Causes and Cure of Smoky Chimneys. In a Letter to Dr. Ingen-Housz, Physician to the Emperor, at Vienna. Second Edition. Philadelphia Printed ; London: Re-Printed for J. Debrett, 1787, 56 pp. and 1 plate, clean and uncut. 8° (105)

JOSEPH and Benjamin, a Conversation. Translated from a French Manuscript. London: printed at the Logographic Press [of J. Walter] for J. Murray, No. 32, Fleet Street, 1787, xvi and 238 pp. 12° (106)
Joseph II, Emperor of Germany, and Dr. Benjamin Franklin.

PLAN of the new Constitution for the United States of America, agreed upon in a Convention of the States. With a Preface by the Editor. London: J. Debrett, 1787, 30 pp. 8° (107)

The London editor at the end of his preface has this note: "Some of the London Newspapers mentioned a strong opposition between General Washington and Dr. Franklin for the Presidency [of the Convention] and that Gen. Washington was elected by a majority of one Vote. We have authority to contradict this account. The fact is, that Gen. Washington was elected with *one voice*, and not by a majority of one. Dr. Franklin, as the senior person of the Convention, and who is already President of the State of Pennsylvania, was the Member who put Gen. Washington into nomination, and he was conducted to the chair with a unanimous voice."

PHILOSOPHICAL and Miscellaneous Papers. Lately written by B. Franklin. London : C. Dilly, 1787, plates, 3 prel. leaves and 186 pp. uncut. 8° (108)

HYDRAULIC and Nautical Observations on the currents in the Atlantic Ocean, forming a hypothetical theorem for investigation. With a corresponding Chart of the Ocean. Addressed to navigators By Governor Pownall, F.R.S. & F.S.A. To which are annexed some Notes by Dr. Franklin. London: Robert Sayer, 1787, 17 pp. with large Chart of the Atlantic Ocean. 4° (109)

DISSERTATION on the English Language. To which is added an Essay on a reformed mode of Spelling, with Dr. Franklin's Arguments on that subject. By Noah Webster. [Dedicated to Dr. Franklin]. Boston : Isaiah Thomas, 1789 [Franklin's letter to Miss Stephenson, dated Sept. 28, 1768, Craven St. London]. 8° (110)

ELOGE Civique de Benjamin Franklin, Prononcé le 21 Juillet 1790, dans la Rotonde, au nom de la Commune de Paris, par M. l'Abbé Fauchet. Paris, J. R. Lottin, 1790, title and 50 pp. 8° (111)

MEMOIRS of the late Dr. B. Franklin : with a review of his Pamphlet, entitled "Information to those who would wish to remove to America." London : Printed and sold for the Author by A. Grant, etc. 1790, 94 pp. 8° (112) This first memoir of Franklin after his death was written by no friendly hand. Many of the anonymous writer's unjust and erroneous statements soon found their way into other books and other biographical sketches. As usual, prompt lies are so difficult to eradicate that to this day most of the scandal that has found its way into type is traceable to this early volume.

COLUMBIAN Magazine (Sept. 1786 to June '90) vol. i to iv ; then, The Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine, vol. v to ix (July 1790 to Dec. 1792). Phil. 1786-92. 8° (113)

Dr Franklin died April, 1790. In the May number of this Magazine there began on page 268, vol. iv, a biographical sketch of Franklin of considerable merit, intended probably as a continuation of the Dr's Autobiography which had not then been printed, and was continued in the numbers for June, July, September, October, November, 1790; February, March, May and June, 1791, vol. v. The interesting work broke off here unfinished, with an intimation that it would be finished in the next number, but it never was. This is probably accounted for by an obituary article in the May number of 1792, page 293, in which is given a notice of Dr Henry Stuber. "This publication is indebted to him for many interesting communications, and more particularly for the greater part of the Life of that eminently useful man Dr Franklin which appeared in the Asylum not long after his death." These papers, frequently reprinted are generally called "Stuber's Life of Franklin," but it now appears that he contributed not the whole but "the greater part." Further on the editor speaks of Dr Stuber's "premature death before he had attained his 24th year."

MEMOIRS de la vie privée de Benjamin Franklin, écrits par lui-même, et adressés à son fils; Suivis d'un Précis historique de sa Vie politique, et de plusieurs Pièces, relatives à ce Père de la Liberté. Paris, Buisson, 1791, 2 parts in 1, 156 and 207 pp. sewn. 8° (114)

ELOGE de M. Franklin lu à la Séance publique de l'Academie des Sciences, le 13 Nov. 1790. [By M. J. A. N. Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet.] Paris, 1791. 8° (115)

EULOGIUM on B. Franklin, LL.D. March 1, 1791, in Philadelphia, before both Houses of Congress, and the American Philosophical Society, &c. By William Smith, D.D. London : T. Cadell, 1792, 39 pp. blue morocco extra, gilt edges by F. Bedford. 8° (116)

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN's Jugendjahre, von ihm selbst sur seinen Sohn beschrieben und übersetzt von Gottfried August Bürger. Berlin, H. A. Rottmann, 1792, 214 pp. large paper copy, sewn. 12° (117)

RULES for Reducing a great Empire to a small one. By the late Benjamin Franklin, etc. London, James Ridgeway, 1793, 16 pp. 8° (118)

WORKS of the late Doctor Benjamin Franklin : Consisting of his Life written by himself, together with Essays, humorous, moral & literary. Chiefly in the manuer of the Spectator. London : G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1793.

In 2 volumes. Vol. I, xii and 317 pp. uncut; vol. II, viii and 268 pp. engraved title with wolf-skin cap and spectacles portrait. 8° (119)

This is Robinson's FIRST EDITION, 1793. It was reissued as a second edition without date. And again the Third Edition no date. This first edition has a leaf of errata at the end of the first volume, corrected in the other editions. On the first page of each sheet vol. I is marked vol. II, and vol. II is marked I. A printed note to the binder requests him to correct this by lettering the Life as vol. I, and the Essays as vol. II. In this work the editor, Dr. Price, for the first time supplements Franklin's Autobiography to 1731, translated from Buisson's French edition of 1791 (itself a translation of the original English) with a reprint of the Life of Franklin in the Columbian Magazine. The editor here on page 191 assigns this without qualification to Dr. Stuber, and so it has passed through many editions, before and since W. T. Franklin's corrected edition. Dr Price died in 1791, but the work was held back two years in deference to the rights of Temple Franklin, who was expected to issue soon the full and genuine Autobiography to 1757, which Dr Price in his Letter printed at the end of the preface said he had seen.

WORKS of the late Doctor Benjamin Franklin: Consisting of his Life written by himself, together with Essays, etc. Dublin: Printed for P. Wogan, P. Byrne, J. Moore, and W. Jones, 1793, very curious portrait, viii and 303 pp. 8° (120)

THE PRIVATE Life of the late Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. Late Minister & Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to France, etc. & Originally written by himself. And now translated from the French. To which are added, some account of his public life, a variety of anecdotes concerning him, by M. M. Brissot, Condorcet, Rochefoucault, Le Roy, &c. &c. And the Eulogium of M. Fauchet. London: J. Parsons, 1793, xvi and 324 pp. clean and uncut, boards. 8° (121)

This edition by Parsons is another and probably authorized translation into English from the French translation of the original manuscript in the English of Franklin published by Buisson at Paris in 1791. Both this and Robinson's edition were held back nearly two years waiting for Temple Franklin's authorized work. They are different re-translations.

WORKS of the late Doctor Benjamin Franklin. Consisting of his life written by himself, together with Essays, humorous, moral & literary. In the manner of the Spectator. Third edition. London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson [1794], vol. I, 317 pp.; vol. II, 290 pp.; 2 vol. tree marbled calf gilt. 8° (122)

INFORMATION to those who would remove to America. By Dr. Benjamin Franklin. London: M. Gurney, 1794, 23 pp. sewn. 8° (123)

On the 24th page is M. Gurney's Advertisement, "Lately published, price one half-penny, or 3/- per 100. A Parable against Persecution. By Franklin."

THE WORKS of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin, consisting of his Life Written by himself. Together with Essays Humorous, Moral, & Literary, chiefly in the manner of the Spectator. New York, Printed by Tiebout & Obrian for H. Gain, V. Nutter, R. McGill, T. Allen, J. Read, E. Duyckinck & Co.

and Edward Mitchell [1793 ? 1st American Edition] portrait with fox skin cap and spectacles, title, engraved by P. R. Maverick, 172 and 142 pp. (124)

WORKS of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin; consisting of his life, written by himself, together with Essays, humorous, moral & literary: Chiefly in the Manner of the Spectator. In 2 vol. The second American Edition. New York, Samuel Campbell, 1794, portrait engraved by B. Tanner, N. Y. Sept. 1794, 206 and 142 pp. 12° (125)

THE WAY to Wealth or Poor Richard Improved. By Benj. Franklin, pp. 1-30; La Science du Bonhomme Richard, pp. 31-82; Lettres de Franklin, pp. 82-114; Dialogue entre la Goutte et Franklin, pp. 115-144; Quelques Mots sur l'Amérique, pp. 145-184; Observations sur les Sauvages du Nord de l'Amerique, Par Franklin, 28 pp. Paris: A. A. Renouard, 1795, LARGE PAPER, calf extra, gilt edges, fine portrait. 12° (126)

THE WAY to Wealth or Poor Richard Improved by Benj. Franklin. La Science du Bonhomme Richard. Lettres de Franklin. Dialogue entre la Goutte et Franklin. Quelques Mots sur l'Amérique. Epitaph; Table; Catalogue des Lines imprimés par J. B. BODONI, que se trouvent chez A. A. Renouard. Paris, A. A. Renouard, 1795, fine portrait by Tardieu, after Duplessis, 185 pp. and 31, large paper, old calf, 12° (127)

THE LIFE of Dr. B. Franklin. Written by himself. Salem: Cushing and Carlton, 1796, 132 pp. sewn, 12° (128)

WORKS of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin, consisting of his Life written by himself: together with Essays humorous, moral and literary, &c. In two volumes. Dundee, G. Milln, 1796, vol. I, x and 232 pp.; vol. II, London, for C. Dilly, 1796, iv and 227 pp. 16° (129)

CHESS made easy. New and Comprehensive Rules for playing the Game of Chess; with Examples from Philidor, Cunningham, &c. To which is prefixed a pleasing Account of its Origin; etc. written by the ingenious and learned Dr. Franklin. London: H. D. Symonds, [1797], 72 pp. sewn. 12° (130)

VIE de Benjamin Franklin, écrite par lui-même, suivie de ses Œuvres morales, politiques et littéraires, dont la plus grande partie n'avoit pas encore été publiée. Traduit de l'Anglais, avec des Notes, par J. Castéra. Tom I, Exquisitely engraved portrait by Alexr. Tardieu, after Duplessis, viii and 382 pp. Tom II. 438 pp. boards. A Paris, chez F. Buisson, An VI de la République [1797]. 8° (131)

This second French edition published by Buisson must not be confounded with Buisson's first collection of 1791. This is mostly a translation of Robinson's English collection of 1793 by J. Castéra, including a re-translation of the autobiography to 1731, and a translation of the Life in continuation of the Autobiography from the Columbian Magazine partly by Young Stuber, together with the Essays, humorous, moral and literary. Castéra added some things from French sources, and greatly improved the translation of the first part of the Autobiography.

LA SCIENCE du Bonhomme Richard, Par Franklin. A Riom, de l'Imprimerie F

de J. C. Salles, An 7 [1799]. Portrait by Alex. Tardieu after Duplessis, and 44 pp. 16° (132)

THE WORKS of the late Dr. B. Franklin. Consisting of his Life, written by himself, together with Essays, humorous, moral and literary, chiefly in the manner of the Spectator. Charlestown: By John Lamson, for the principal booksellers in Boston, 1798, 300 pp. sewn. 12° (133)

THE WAY to Wealth, as clearly shown in the Preface of an old Pennsylvania Almanack, intitled Poor Richard Improved. Extracted from the Doctor's Political Works. Salem, T. C. Cushing [1800?], 16 pp. sewn. 12° (134)

THE WAY to Wealth, Written by the late Dr. Franklin. Extracted from his Political Works, Nottingham: C. Sutton [1800?]. 12 pp. a chap book with curious woodcut portrait on title, sewn, paper covers. 12°. (135)

WORKS of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin : consisting of his Life written by himself, together with Essays, humorous, moral and literary, chiefly in the manner of the Spectator. London: J. Cundee, 1802, vol. I, engraved portrait by J. Hopwood, vii and 182 pp. vol. II, iv and 188 pp. 2 vol. red morocco. 12° (136)

WORKS of the late Doctor Benjamin Franklin: consisting of his Life written by himself, together with Essays, humorous, moral and literary, chiefly in the manner of the Spectator. Dublin, P. Wogan, 1802, viii and 316 pp. 12° (137)

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN's Kleine Schriften meist in der Manier des Zuschancers, nebst seinem Leben. Aus dem Englischen von G. Schatz. Mit Franklin's Bildnisze Zweyte Auflaye. Weimar, im Verlage des Landes, Industrie, Comptoirs, 1802, 2 vol. in 1, two portraits. I, xi and 188 pp. II, title and 128 pp. 8° (138)

WORKS of Dr. Franklin, etc. 2 vol. Edinburgh; D. Schaw & Son, 1803, I, x and 199 pp.; II, ix and 196 pp. 16° (139)

POOR Richard's Maxims; or, the Way to Wealth. By the Celebrated Doctor Franklin. Birmingham: Surney and Ferrall, 1805, 18 pp. sewn. 8° (140)

THE COMPLETE Works, in Philosophy, Politics, and Morals, of the late Dr. B. Franklin, now first collected and arranged: With Memoirs of his early Life, written by himself. in 3 vols [Edited by Mr. Marshall, assisted by Benjamin Vaughan]. London: J. Johnson and Longman, etc. [a trade edition] 1806 [see Edinburgh Review, July, 1806] portrait on the engraved titles; volume I, xiv and 440 pp. and index; vol. II, vi and 468 pp.; vol. III, vi and 552 pp. blue morocco extra, gilt edges by F. Bedford. 8° (141)

Edinburgh Review for July, 1806. Containing a Review of Marshall's complete Works of Dr. Franklin, 3 vol. trade edition. London, Johnson, etc. 1806 (142)

FATHER Abraham's Speech to a great number of People, at a Vendue of Merchant-Goods; Introduced to the Public by Poor Richard, a famous Pennsylvania Conjurer and Almanac-Maker, In Answer to the following Questions: Pray, Father Abraham, what think you of the Times? Won't these heavy Taxes quite ruin the Country? How shall we be ever able

- to pay Them? What would you advise us to? To which are added Several curious Pieces of Writing. Dedham: Printed by H. Mann, for Wm. Tileston Clapp, Boston, January 1807, 24 pp. red morocco. 8vo. (143)
- THE WORKS of Dr. Benjamin Franklin [with an introduction of 11 pp. signed G. D.J.]. London: W. Suttaby, 1809, frontispiece, engraved title [chess playing], xvi and 454 pp. 32° (144)
- WORKS of the late Dr. B. Franklin, consisting of his Life, written by himself; together with Essays, humorous, moral, and literary, 2 vol. in 1. Edinburgh: D. Schaw and Son, 1809, 203 and 186 pp. blue morocco extra, gilt edges by F. Bedford. 12° (145)
- THE LIFE of Benjamin Franklin; Engraved Portrait on title, by Hopwood, woodcut portrait at end, 56 pp. In same vol. Select Pieces by B. Franklin, engraved title, woodcut at end, 59 pp. G. Nicholson, Poughmill, near Ludlow, [1810?] blue morocco extra, gilt edges by F. Bedford. 12° (146)
- THE LIFE and Works of Dr. B. Franklin. Bungay: Brightly & Childs [1810?] Portrait, engraved title, viii and 470 pp. boards, uncut. 8° (147)
- A HISTORICAL Review of Pennsylvania, from its origin, founded on authentic Documents. By Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. Philadelphia, 1812, xx and 444 pp. 8° (148)
The original London edition with a new title after more than half a century.
Probably one of the 500 copies sent out by Franklin to Philadelphia on sale.
- THE FRANKLIN Family Primer. Containing a New and useful Selection of Moral Lessons; adorned with a variety of Cuts, calculated to strike a lasting impression on the Tender minds of Children. By a Friend to Youth. Improved edition. Boston, Manning & Loring [1812] bds. 72 pp. 24° (149)
- WORKS of the late Dr. B. Franklin; consisting of his Life, written by himself: together with Essays, humorous, moral, and literary, 2 vol. in 1. Edinburgh: D. Schaw and Son, 1814, 203 and 186 pp. blue morocco extra, gilt edges by F. Bedford. 12° (150)
- FRANKLIN'S Way to Wealth; or, "Poor Richard Improved, &c." New edition: Corrected and enlarged by Bob Short, with 12 handsome copper-plates inserted in the text. London, W. Darton, jun. [1814] 36 pp. sewed. 16° (151)
- DELA PLAINE (Joseph) Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished American Characters, vol. I. Philadelphia, 1815 [including a Life of Franklin by Mr. Walsh]. 4° (152)
- THE WORKS of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, consisting of Essays, humorous, moral and literary; with his Life written by himself. London: J. F. Dove, n. d. title engraved by Heath and 263 pp. (Dove's English Classics, with engravings by Heath, Finden, &c.) 32° (153)
- CORRESPONDENCE Inédit et Secrète de Dr. Benjamin Franklin, 1753-1790, en trois parties, 1° Les Memoirs de sa vie privée; 2° Les Causes première de la Révolution d'Amérique; 3° L'Histoire des diverses négociations entre l'Angleterre, la France et des Etats-Unis, publiée pour la première fois en France, avec des notes, additions, etc. Par Charles Malo. Paris, Janet père, 1817, 2 vol. 8° (154)

MEMOIRS of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. F.R.S. etc.
Written by himself to a late period, and continued to the time of his death,
by his grandson, William Temple Franklin. Now first published from the
original manuscript, comprising the Private correspondence and Public
Negotiations of Dr. Franklin, and a selection from his political, philoso-
phical and miscellaneous Works. London, Henry Colburn, 1817-1819,
6 vol. 8° (155)

MEMOIRS of the Life and Writings of B. Franklin, Written by himself to a late
period, and continued to the time of his death, by his Grandson, William
Temple Franklin. Now first published from the original MSS. Compris-
ing the Private Correspondence and Public Negotiations of Dr. F. and a
selection from his political, philosophical, and miscellaneous works, 3 vol.
London : Henry Colburn, 1818, blue morocco extra by Bedford. 4° (156)

Reviewed in the North American Review vol. vii, p. 289,

CORRESPONDANCE Choise de Benjamin Franklin, traduite de l'Anglais. Edition
publiée par W. T. Franklin. Paris, chez Treuttel et Würtz, A Londres,
chez H. Colburne, 1817 xxx and 409 pp. blue morocco extra, gilt edges by
F. Bedford. 8° (157)

DR. BENJAMIN Franklin's nachgelassene Schriften und Correspondenz, nebst
seinem Leben. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt [of William Temple Franklin] Weimar, im Verlage des Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs, 1817-1819, 5 vol.
boards, uncut. 8° (158)

MEMOIRES sur la Vie et les écrits, de Benjamin Franklin, publiés sur le manu-
scrit original rédigé par lui-même en grande partie, et continué jusq'ua a
sa mort, Par William Temple Franklin, son petit-fils. A Paris, chez
Treuttel et Würtz. A Londres, chez H. Colburne, 1818, Tome I. II. Port-
rait, xiv and 390 pp. frontispiece, text and appendix 435 pp. blue morocco
extra, gilt edges by F. Bedford. 8° (159)

MEMOIRS of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself,
and continued by his grandson W. Temple Franklin. Together with the
whole of his political, philosophical and miscellaneous works. Philadelphia,
William Duane, 1818-1808, 6 vol. calf. 8° (160)

THE WORKS of Dr. Benjn. Franklin ; consisting of Essays, humorous, moral,
and literary : with his Life written by himself. London : J. Walker
[and the trade] 1819, frontispiece, engraved title, xi and 310 pp. 16° (161)

FRANKLIN'S Way to Wealth ; or, Poor Richard Improved. Industry leads to
Wealth. New-York : S. Woods & Sons, and S. S. Wood & Co. Baltimore,
1820, 44 pp. 16° (162)

DER WEG zum Glück, oder Leben und Meynungen des Dr. Benjamin Franklin.
Von ihm selbst geschrieben. Reading [Penn.] gedruckt und zu haben bey
Heenrich B. Gage, 1820, 128 pp. square 16° (163)

THE LIFE of B. Franklin ; with many choice anecdotes and admirable sayings
of this Great Man, never before published by any of his biographers. By
M. L. Weems, 5th edition, greatly enlarged. Baltimore : J. D. Toy, 1820,
portrait, 264 pp. 8° (164)

THE WORKS of the late Dr. B. Franklin ; consisting of his Life, written by himself, together with humorous, moral, and literary Essays, among which are several not inserted in any American Edition. Philadelphia : Edward Parker, 1821, 294 pp. sewn. 8° (165)

THE WORKS of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, consisting of Essays, &c. London : J. F. Dove, English Classics, 1824. 32° (166)

THE WORKS of Dr. Benjamin Franklin : consisting of Essays, humorous, moral, and literary : with his Life, written by himself. Chiswick : From the Press of C. Whittingham, 1824, vignette by Stothard, viii and 295 pp. half calf. 16° (167)

THE WORKS of Dr. Benjamin Franklin ; consisting of Essays, humorous, moral, and literary : With his life, written by himself. Stereotyped by T. H. Carter & Co. Boston : T. Bedlington, 1825, portrait, 303 pp. sewn. 12° (168)

THE WAY to Wealth. By Dr. Franklin, to which are added his Advice to Young Tradesmen, and Sketches of his life and character. Windsor, Vt. Simeon Ide, 1826, 80 pp. sewn. 24° (169)

MEMOIRES de Benjamin Franklin, etc. 2 tom. Paris, Jules Renouard, 1828. 16° (170)

THE DIPLOMATIC Correspondence of the American Revolution ; being the letters of Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane and others concerning the Foreign Relations of the United States during the Revolution, etc. Edited by Jared Sparks, 12 vol. Boston, 1829-30. 8° (171)

THE DIPLOMATIC Correspondence of the United States, from 10th Sept. 1783, to the Adoption of the Constitution, 4th of March, 1789 [including Franklin's Correspondence] 7 vol. Washington, 1833-34. 8°

MEMOIRS of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself to a late period, and continued to the time of his death by his grandson William Temple Franklin ; comprising the Private Correspondence and Public Negotiations of Dr. Franklin, &c. New Edition. London, published for H. Colburn by R. Bently, 1833, 6 vol. blue morocco extra. 8° (172)

A COLLECTION of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin, now for the first time published [By Jared Sparks]. Boston : Charles Bowen, 1833, 2 parts in 1 vol; xii and 295 pp. fine port. sewn. 8° (173)
Reviewed in the North American Review, vol. xxxvii, page 63.

FAMILIAR Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of B. Franklin, now for the first time published. Edited by Jared Sparks, with explanatory notes. Lond. Jackson & Walford, 1833, xvi and 295 pp. g. e. by Bedford. 8° (174)

THE WORKS of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, consisting of Essays, humorous, moral, and literary. With his Life, written by himself. New-York, Mahlon Day, 1834, portrait, 290 pp. boards. 24° (176)

MEMOIRS of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself and continued by his Grandson, with his correspondence, essays, Diplomatic Correspondence, etc. With a Preface by W. Duane, Philadelphia, 1834, 2 vol. xxxviii and 624 pp.; vii and 517 pp. 8° (177)

- MEMOIRS of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself and continued by his grandson and others. Philadelphia, 1835, 2 vol. 8° (178)
 Reviewed in the North American Review, July 1835.
- BOGTRYKEREN Benjamin Franklin's Liv og Levnet. Af J. W. Marckmann, ordineret Katecht ved True Kirke. Kjobenhavn, 1837, iv and 159 pp. 12° (179)
- THE LIFE and Writings of Benjamin Franklin. By Jared Sparks. Boston, 1840-36-42, 10 vol. large paper, cloth. 8° (180)
- A LECTURE on the Life of Dr. Franklin, by the Rev. Hugh McNeile, at the Liverpool Royal Amphitheatre 17th Nov. 1841. With the addition of a prefatory Note to the Reader by J. B. Murray, of New York. With a Fac-simile of Dr. F.'s Letter to Rev. G. Whitefield. Also engraving of the Press at which F. worked when a journeyman in London. London: W. E. Painter, 1841, 47 pp. sewn. 8° (181)
- PROCEEDINGS in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the Presentation of the Sword of Washington and the Staff of Franklin, February 7, 1843. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1843. 15 pp. 8° (182)
- PETITS TRAITÉS publiés par L'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Vie de Franklin, a l'usage de tout le Monde. Par M. Mignet. Paris, Pagnerre & Paulin & Co. 1848, 2 parts, 85 and 130 pp. sewn. 12° (183)
- A BIOGRAPHICAL Sketch of William Franklin, Governor [of New Jersey] from 1763 to 1776, By William A. Whitehead. Read before the New Jersey Historical Society, Sept. 27th, 1848, 23 pp. 8° (184)
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- THE SELECT Works of Benjamin Franklin, including his Autobiography; with Notes and Memoirs. By Epes Sargent. Boston, 1858, 502 pp. port. 8° (190)
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THE LIFE of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself. Now first edited from Original Manuscripts and from his printed correspondence and other writings. By John Bigelow. Second edition, revised and corrected. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879, 3 vols, [Volume I being mainly from the stereotype plates of the Autobiography first issued in 1868, from Franklin's original draft MS. and vols II and III made up from letters and abstracts of Franklin's writings taken largely from Sparks's edition of Franklin's Life and Works in 10 volumes, the copyright and stereotype plates of which have still a lawful owner]. (199)

THE EDINBURGH Review, April 1880, containing an Article on Franklin, being a review of Mr Bigelow's second edition, 3 vol. 1879 (200)

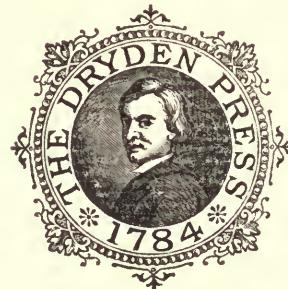
This Portrait of Franklin, on the whole, is well drawn and effective, but the writer's story of the evolution of the Autobiography is faulty ; and the charges against the British Government and the grandson are sustained, and not withdrawn or softened. "But he (Mr Bigelow) has established a very strong presumption that Franklin's faith in this William Temple, this adopted child of his old age, was another of the philosopher's 'errata,' as he would himself have said." For 'philosopher's' read reviewer's errata.

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A DISSERTATION on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain. London : Printed in the year 1725. Reprinted in close imitation of the original in 1852, by Charles Whittingham. With an additional title and historical preface by Henry Stevens, of Vermont. London, 1881. 8° (203)

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN's Life and Writings, a Bibliographical Essay on Mr Stevens's Franklin Collection of Books and Manuscripts. By HENRY STEVENS of Vermont, RSA ; Citizen of Noviomagus ; MA of Yale ; etc. London, Printed at the Dryden Press, by Messrs Davy & Sons for the Author, iv Trafalgar Square, w.c. 1881, viii & 40 pages, 5 steel portraits and facsimile of letter to Strahan. 8°



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